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Security Council
Fifty-first Year

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Thursday, 11 July 1996, 3.15 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Dejammet	(France)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Egypt	Mr. Awaad
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Włosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) (S/1996/503)

96-85919 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Expression of sympathy to the Government and people of China in connection with the recent floods in the country

The President (*interpretation from French*): At the outset of this meeting, I should like, on behalf of the Council, to extend deep sympathy to the Government and the people of China for the great loss of life and property suffered as a result of the recent floods in China.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) (S/1996/503)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Malawi, Mozambique, Portugal, Tunisia, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Carneiro (Angola) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Amorim (Brazil), Mr. Leao Monteiro (Cape Verde), Mr. Rubadiri (Malawi), Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Catarino (Portugal), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia), Mr. Jele (South Africa), Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Mapuranga (Zimbabwe) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), document S/1996/503. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/536, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1996/494, which contains the text of a note verbale dated 26 June 1996 from the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a letter dated 17 June 1996 from the President of the Republic of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola, His Excellency General Higino Carneiro, whom I welcome and on whom I now call.

Mr. Carneiro (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): First and foremost, I should like to thank you, Sir, for this opportunity to address the members of the Security Council in order to present the views of the Government of the Republic of Angola on the current stage of the development of and the prospects for the peace process under way in my country, which has now reached its most crucial and decisive phase.

Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I also bring our greetings to your predecessor, Ambassador Nabil Elaraby, for the dynamic manner in which he led the activities of this organ during his term of office. I should also like to take this opportunity to reiterate our gratitude for the work of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali; his Special Representative for Angola, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye; and the troika of observers — the United States of America, Russia and Portugal — and for their efforts towards peace in Angola.

Approximately two years ago, as we undertook the process of implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, we were aware of its complexities, and of the obstacles and difficulties that lay ahead. Nevertheless, we had hoped and prayed that by this point in time we would be much further advanced in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. We had thought that by now peace would have been restored and that national reconciliation would be

my Government's most pressing priority. Consequently, from the very start we concentrated all of our efforts towards that goal.

In spite of those efforts, the process has moved forward slowly; the reasons for this are well known to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) and to the members of this Council, which, repeatedly and in a variety of resolutions and declarations, have addressed those who have been hampering progress towards a definite and lasting peace.

After the last meeting in Libreville between His Excellency the President of the Republic and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), significant progress was achieved in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, aside from the effective cessation of hostilities, particularly regarding military actions and the strengthening of the political dialogue between my Government and UNITA.

At the risk of being excessively detailed, I would like to underscore some of those achievements so far. All stages of the withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) to the nearest quartering areas have been completed and troop movements considered unreasonable by UNAVEM III have been corrected. The process of selecting and inducting UNITA troops into the Angolan Armed Forces is already under way. This process started with the incorporation of 60 UNITA officers, who participated in training seminars for the selection and induction of UNITA forces, many of whom are already working in quartering areas, including Negaje, Ngove, Conduimbala and Vila Nova. The confining to quarters of the rapid reaction police is already concluded. The national police is now training personnel appointed by UNITA who, in the framework of the Lusaka Protocol, will provide physical security for the leaders of that organization. Amnesty legislation has been adopted and promulgated for all crimes committed in the armed conflict after 31 May 1991. The President of the Republic has already made a public statement to that effect, as requested by the leadership of UNITA. The Meehens Corporation has been hired to remove mines along roads and thus provide security for the free circulation of goods and people. This company has been working along the country's main roads and railways. The Government has agreed to the opening of 15 quartering areas for UNITA forces in the province of in Lunda Sul. The joint tasks between the Government and UNITA teams have not yet been completed. Their aim is to revise provisions of Angolan constitutional law. Implementation of the programme to disarm the civilian population has already begun. Although this is not the Government's responsibility, it has supported the transportation of UNITA forces to the quartering areas in many ways.

These and other achievements could have been more significant with greater cooperation from UNITA. We are looking forward to 15 July, when generals who had left the armed forces to join UNITA will return to their units.

In spite of these positive steps, the peace process is still hampered by obstacles which, if they continue, might entail further delays and even backsliding. We are referring specifically to the quality of UNITA forces and of the *matériel* sent to the quartering areas. After successive appeals and procedures used by the UNITA leadership, we came to realize that the quantity and quality of weapons and war *matériel* delivered so far are just a small part of what is available to UNITA's military branch. We cannot conceive, for example, that only 1,721 kilogrammes of ammunition were available in the four quartering areas already closed by the Joint Commission.

As a result, this exercise under UNAVEM's supervision lacks credibility and is not tolerable. In addition to being unacceptable, it breeds mistrust between the two parties and weakens the peace process. The lack of transparency of this process is reflected not only in the slow pace of its implementation but also in the large number of deserters and the quality of the men sent to the quartering areas. According to figures provided by UNAVEM III, of the 52,850 men confined to quarters by 10 July, more than 6,000 had already deserted. Thousands are children, and more than 18,000 have not surrendered any weapons.

Those members who have monitored the issue of the domestic Angolan conflict for some time will easily realize that the types and weights of the weapons and the quality of the troops that UNITA has delivered raise questions about the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, which calls for the withdrawal, quartering and disarmament of all UNITA military forces. Accordingly, it is incumbent upon the Council and UNAVEM III to take action that will help improve performance in the quartering process, which UNAVEM itself considers unacceptable, thereby ensuring that the peace process will become irreversible. In keeping with the Lusaka agreements, we must underscore that the effective and full quartering of the UNITA forces, including the laying

down of arms and technical means of war, is a *sine qua non* condition for the smooth unification of the Angolan Armed Forces and consequently for the implementation of the political provisions relating to national reconciliation. As a consequence, full transparency of this verification process must be assured.

We are also concerned by the proliferation of armed elements under UNITA command performing alleged law enforcement roles in areas already vacated by UNITA forces. This is a flagrant violation of the Lusaka Protocol. Part II of annex 5 of the Protocol bans any means of surveillance or law enforcement which is not specifically allowed by law and by the relevant provisions of the Bicesse Accords and the Lusaka Protocol.

As I stated at the outset, we are now reaching the decisive juncture in the peace process of a country that has not known peace for over 30 years. Today we have the basic foundations for the creation of a democratic, united and prosperous society where all political forces, regardless of their differences, must play an important role. Creation in the near future of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, including the invitation extended to the UNITA leader by His Excellency the President, is undeniably an expression of this principle and this desire.

By 30 July 1996, we should conclude the induction of UNITA forces into the Angolan Armed Forces, followed by the re-establishment of Government control over areas currently controlled by UNITA and by the free and unimpeded circulation of goods and persons throughout the territory. At that point, UNITA will have regained its political status as a legal political party; its members will occupy seats at the National Assembly and it will participate in the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation.

The accomplishment of these tasks requires further strengthening of the climate of trust between the two parties. I take this opportunity to reiterate the appeal made to UNITA by His Excellency President José Eduardo dos Santos:

> "Trust the Government as an honest partner and emulate with rigour and seriousness the positions adopted thus far by the Government, strictly honouring all the commitments from Bicesse and Lusaka".

At this crucial stage of the peace process, it is also essential for Angola's neighbouring States to suspend any negative actions that might reduce the chances of success. The constant violations of Angolan territory by illegal aliens and by foreign enterprises is an issue that must be considered by the sanctions Committee of the Security Council. Paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) clearly calls on all Member States, and particularly Angola's neighbours, to maintain a posture conducive to peace in our country, refraining from actions that may violate the most elementary precepts of security of any nation. Consequently, we appeal to the Security Council also to act in accordance with its high responsibilities in this area.

Social and economic stability in Angola requires the social reintegration of the thousands of soldiers to be demobilized beginning this month. This will prevent them from turning to weapons again as a means to ensure their survival, thus endangering peace and stability in our nation. In view of the current economic crisis in our country, my Government is not in a position to rise to this challenge on its own. We therefore appeal to the international community for assistance. Allow me here to express our appreciation to the many Governments that have shown their willingness to support these social reintegration programmes, and to request that they start their implementation in coordination with the Government.

This year, 20,000 soldiers will be demobilized out of a total of 67,000. Let me remind the Council that 40,000 soldiers are already demobilized as a result of the Bicesse process and have not yet received any help in their reintegration into civilian life. This large number of military men will require major assistance from the Government of Angola. We cannot allow all efforts invested in the peace process to fail because we have not been able to provide minimal assistance to those who, for many years, were raised in a culture of war.

At the same time, the launching of economic rehabilitation in the regions that have been hardest hit by war will go far towards bringing about a climate of peace and confidence for the thousands upon thousands of refugees and displaced persons who were compelled to leave their homes during the hostilities, but who will be ready to go back as soon as the situation normalizes. In this connection, special mention should be made of the implementation of the demining programmes, many of which are already under way, and of the efforts under the community rehabilitation programme submitted last year at Brussels. We would like to appeal to the Governments and institutions that have pledged their financial support

to honour their commitments in order to ensure the full accomplishment of the programme.

Allow me also to express the profound gratitude of the people and Government of Angola to all nations that have provided troops, personnel and *matériel* to UNAVEM III, and also to pay tribute to those who lost their lives to the cause of peace in Angola. A particular word of recognition goes to the members of the demining team from Uruguay and Pakistan, who sustained injuries on 17 June in the fulfilment of their mission.

As this process nears its conclusion, UNAVEM III will have to issue statements, as called for by its mandate. We call upon the Security Council to send a special mission to Angola as soon as possible, to assess the peace process and to recommend measures appropriate to the situation, before declaring the Lusaka Protocol fully implemented.

The draft resolution on which the Council is about to vote today meets the requirements of the internal situation on the ground. My Government will have no further objection to agreeing to the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III for another three months. My delegation feels that this period is a reasonable one and will make it possible to fulfil all the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol.

Finally, allow me to refer to the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council, and through him, to its members, by the Mission of Angola. It expresses the concern of my Government regarding UNITA's performance in incorporating its troops into the Angolan Armed Forces. We see this as related to the military situation and to the revision of some elements of Angola's constitution: it is a last-minute attempt to use delaying tactics to slow the peace process. The Council should give particular attention to this matter, and should urge UNITA to assume a truly constructive position.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Catarino (Portugal) *(interpretation from French)*: Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of July. I have no doubts regarding the effectiveness with which you will be conducting the work of the Council. Let me also take this opportunity to congratulate the Permanent Representative of Egypt, Ambassador Elaraby, and his delegation for the remarkable manner in which they guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of June.

(spoke in English)

On the occasion of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) by the Security Council, Portugal is pleased to note some positive developments which have taken place in the past two months.

It is a fact that the overall military situation in Angola remains calm, and one cannot really talk about any serious violations of the cease-fire. The conclusion of the military talks between the parties and the beginning of the incorporation of UNITA military personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces, together with the progress achieved in the quartering of UNITA troops and the quartering of the rapid reaction police, are all positive signs that the peace process in Angola is moving forward.

Nevertheless, we must also note that the pace of the implementation of the process is still too slow; time is becoming more and more pressing for the parties, and especially UNITA, to give a clear indication that they are willing to fulfil their commitments to make peace irreversible in Angola.

Both the Government of Angola and UNITA are the parties mainly responsible for the achievement of peace and, of course, those who should be most interested in that goal. We appeal to them here, and strongly encourage them to take the necessary steps to finally make possible the achievement of the lasting peace to which all Angolans aspire.

We must also stress, however, that some of the recent positive developments should have been brought about earlier and more expeditiously, which would have boosted the confidence needed to consolidate the peace process and to make the Lusaka Protocol a reality.

My delegation is pleased to note the progress achieved so far in the registration of UNITA personnel in quartering areas, and the closing of eight out of the 15 such areas to the induction of additional troops. It is now

urgent that this process be completed in a credible way, in accordance with the timetable established by the Joint Commission, and by the handing over of heavy military equipment to UNAVEM III. At the same time, it is important to continue the withdrawal of Angolan armed forces to barracks in accordance with the procedures agreed with UNAVEM regarding such operations.

All of these are crucial steps, on the one hand, to move forward with the completion of the national armed forces of Angola, and, on the other, to implement a programme of the demobilization and social reintegration of former combatants.

Parallel to these provisions, it is also of utmost importance that the efforts regarding the demining of the country be intensified. We are pleased to note that in the past two months some progress has been registered in this area.

Angolan roads free of mines, along with a commitment from both parties on total freedom of movement, will contribute in a significant way to an effective flow of humanitarian assistance, and will make possible the free circulation of people and goods. These are also key elements for improving the atmosphere of trust that is still so sorely needed.

Turning to political issues, Portugal, as a member of the troika of observer countries of the peace process, can only describe as encouraging and positive the possibility of a meeting at the earliest opportunity and in Angolan territory between President Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Jonas Savimbi in order to seek solutions for all outstanding issues concerning the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, and mainly its provisions on national reconciliation. It is also important that such a political dialogue be pursued at all levels, between both parties, in order to consolidate mutual trust in a spirit of tolerance. In this regard, we also note as a positive element the reports of a reduction in the intensity and frequency of hostile propaganda.

While Portugal encourages all efforts aimed at transforming UNITA into a political party, we also look forward to concrete measures leading to the formation of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. A fully functioning Parliament of Angola, with all elected members occupying their seats, and the incorporation of UNITA personnel into the State administration at all levels — national, provincial and local — are also crucial to fostering a true spirit of national reconciliation.

The resolution of all military issues, followed by an appropriate and duly supported programme of the demobilization and social reintegration of former combatants, together with the creation of political conditions for national reconciliation, will pave the way to lasting peace in Angola. At the same time, the effective rehabilitation and reconstruction of the infrastructures and economy of Angola is essential.

By fulfilling the commitments assumed under the Lusaka Protocol, both the Government of Angola and UNITA will be showing the international community and the donor countries that they are worthy of the pledges of assistance aimed at rebuilding the economy of Angola and increasing the well-being of its people. In this context, funds must be provided also so that Angola can integrate former soldiers into civilian life, while dealing at the same time with the flow of refugees and displaced persons.

As a member of the troika of observer States, as a troop contributing country to UNAVEM III, as a donor nation, and through enhanced bilateral cooperation, Portugal continues to be fully committed to the successful completion of the Angolan peace process. We believe that national reconciliation can only be achieved through the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and of the Lusaka Protocol.

In this context, we fully support the continuing commitment of the Security Council to bringing peace to Angola.

In conclusion, I would like to pay tribute to the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, and to the personnel of UNAVEM III, the largest current peace-keeping operation, as well as to the work of United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Portugal for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamamra (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to convey to you the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I am convinced

that your professional and human qualities will ensure the success of its work. My delegation's congratulations go also to Ambassador Nabil Elaraby, who so wisely conducted the work of the Council last month.

The participation of my delegation, as Chairman of the African Group, in the Council's deliberations on the situation in Angola, is testimony to the abiding interest of the whole of Africa in developments in that fraternal country. As spokesman for Africa in its collective solidarity with Angola, I feel a special honour as the representative of Algeria, which has always maintained with Angola a relationship full of reciprocal esteem and understanding, which goes back to our exemplary relationship as comrades in arms in the struggle for the completion of the liberation of Africa.

Angola, which waged an armed struggle for its national independence, has not been spared by destiny. Since 1975, this country has been caught in a fratricidal conflict which has caused thousands of deaths and which resulted in considerable material damage which has sapped the fragile economy and diverted energy from economic and social development.

Endowed with a variety of natural resources, Angola has never had the respite necessary to develop them to fulfil its people's aspirations to well-being. The post-independence history of that country is a cycle of human tragedy and material destruction, the result of which the international community has had ample opportunity to see: a country so rich in human and material resources which is now devastated.

The developments of recent years in Angola, with the commendable support of the United Nations, establish the conditions for resolving the crisis. The Lusaka Protocol of 4 November 1994 has created promising opportunities for establishing lasting peace in Angola. Along with the subsequent arrangements — in particular those concluded in Libreville between the President of the Republic of Angola, Mr. Dos Santos, and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), Mr. Savimbi — the Protocol contributes to a framework conducive to a peace that will enable the Angolan people finally to devote themselves to the task of national reconciliation.

The international community has backed its efforts to find a solution with the laudable work of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, and the deployment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), which has carried out its tasks with efficiency and altruism.

The earliest achievements on the ground show that the peace process is an irreversible reality. The Secretary-General's report mentions progress in the observance of the cease-fire, the quartering of the Angolan Armed Forces, the deployment of UNAVEM III, the promulgation of the Amnesty Law, the process of incorporating the military elements of UNITA into the Angolan Armed Forces, as well as in the economic and humanitarian areas, where we have seen an improvement in food aid programmes, an increase in agricultural production, greater storage capacities and improved conditions in merchandise transportation.

The Angolan Government's contribution to this progress should be stressed, in particular the steps it has taken to establish a climate of trust in the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the efforts it has made to establish an integrated national military institution.

Further progress would have been possible if the other party, UNITA, had demonstrated the same constructive will instead of adopting the dilatory attitude it continues to nurture. This attitude is manifest in particular in the dubious conditions surrounding the quartering and disarming of its troops. It would seem, indeed, that UNITA has not proceeded to the quartering of its best-trained troops or given up its heavy weapons, troop transports or communications and engineering equipment. Here, we must stress the responsibility of the UNITA leadership for the slowness of the peace process. It is of great importance that the Security Council send a clear, firm message to UNITA that it must abide by the time-frames to which it agreed, in particular those leading to the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. At the same time, it would be particularly appropriate for countries that have any influence on UNITA to exert the pressure necessary to discourage it from using delaying tactics to compromise the timetable established in UNAVEM III's mandate.

The situation in Angola poses a challenge to the international community for several reasons. Political and military stabilization is important, but it is not enough. Other, equally decisive questions will determine the long-term success of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the establishment of lasting peace in the country. The demobilization and socio-economic reintegration of former combatants, the demining and rebuilding of roads and the rehabilitation of economic

and social activity are all factors that should help to establish this peace. Hence, assistance by the international community must be forthcoming in support of the recovery programme launched by the Government of Angola, because this is the only way in which Angola can look with any optimism towards the period following 8 February 1997.

That is also why, on behalf of the African Group, my delegation supports, in the same spirit as the Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola, the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III, in the profound hope that this new period will see significant progress in the peace process.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Malawi. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rubadiri (Malawi): My delegation would like to thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Security Council for giving us this opportunity to contribute to this very important discussion on Angola. I find it a little bit difficult to be able to say much more in thanking the previous President and yourself with respect to meetings that were closed to us, but I am sure they were done with a lot of wisdom as well.

As members know, Malawi lies deep in the southern part of Africa in which the Republic of Angola also lies. The brotherhood of this region, so dear to us, has been shared in a history that has been as stormy as the Cape of Good Hope and as dark and tragic as the causes that mothered it.

We speak, therefore, with feelings of great hope and conviction that the ray of light in the tunnel will soon be seen. Miracles have happened in southern Africa. Angola will not be the exception.

We thank the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), contained in document S/1996/503 of 27 June 1996. We pay particular tribute to him for his continuing efforts and those of his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, UNAVEM III personnel and of all others too many to mention here, in the search for a peace that we also cherish and yearn for in Angola.

We have seen the development of many positive advances towards peace. These have been acknowledged in the Secretary-General's report, and we welcome these developments. Like other nations that have spoken before us, however, we must say that we remain deeply concerned by the pace at which some of the agreed measures have been and continue to be implemented.

In this regard, while acknowledging the positive developments — such as the adoption of the framework agreement on military matters, the promulgation of the Amnesty Law, the beginning of the process of incorporating UNITA military personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces and the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police — we continue to have many anxious moments. We must take notice of the sporadic skirmishes that have been reported in some provinces. We hear of delayed quartering, desertions and, above all, UNITA's reluctance to hand over better-quality weapons and other equipment used for military purposes.

These are disturbing developments portending a spirit of irritating reluctance, a simple lack of faith or perhaps a deliberate refusal to come out openly for peace and national reconstruction. As I said before, we cry for Angola. Our region cries for Angola. We in Africa know that our tragedies cannot be played out in an arena of wasted time. The world tends to be impatient with us for some reason or other. This is an appeal to the brothers who are players in all this to realize that, after the popping of bullets, we have to uproot the mushrooms of mines that form the carpet on which humanity walks in dear Angola, maiming women, children, old fathers and mothers. These fields did not come from villages of Africa, and that is why the international community must take note of our appeal to help us to demine them.

A wholesome peace cannot be achieved in Angola and the region if no corrective measures are taken to address these concerns and many others so succinctly outlined in the Secretary-General's report. We urge all the parties concerned, particularly UNITA, to continue abiding by the agreements reached in the Lusaka Protocol. We appeal specifically to UNITA to adhere strictly to the agreed time-frame for carrying out all measures aimed at a successful outcome for the Lusaka Protocol. The people of Angola and the region have waited so long for peace and tranquility; delay, even in terms of months, only prolongs the misery and the suffering.

The peace process in Angola has reached a critical stage. It requires a concerted effort and the continued support of the international community. We therefore support the Secretary-General's recommendation for the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III. We also appeal for donor support for the many needs arising from demobilization and reintegration, and in order to alleviate the socio-economic hardships that Angola is currently facing. This region knows that if South Africa was able to solve problems that touched us all, Angola too will be able to solve problems critical to the whole of Africa but also to the international community and the Security Council: problems of peace and security.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Malawi for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): First of all, let me congratulate you, Ambassador Dejammet, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. Under your able and wise guidance the work of the Security Council will be conducted in a highly effective way. I would like also to take this opportunity to express appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Nabil Elaraby, for the competence with which he presided over the Council during the month of June.

We would like to pay tribute to the key role Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his Special Representative, Maitre Alioune Blondin Beye, continue to play in the consolidation of the peace process in Angola. The multiple efforts deployed by the troika of observer States in helping the peace process should also be highlighted.

I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his report on UNAVEM III (S/1996/503), which in our view presents an objective picture of the latest developments in the situation in Angola. In his assessment, the Secretary-General points out that during the last two months the pace of implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has improved somewhat. He also notes, however, that the coming weeks will be critical.

The quartering of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) — one of the key elements of the Lusaka Protocol — remains subject to delays. Some of the problems in this area, according to the report, are the

> "high number of desertions, the unsatisfactory quality and quantity of weapons and ammunition handed over, [and] the failure to quarter UNITA police personnel". *(S/1996/503, para. 37)*

It is noteworthy that UNITA's leader has promised to hand over weapons of "better quality" *(para. 12)*. However, it is mentioned in the report that, up to now, UNITA has not handed over

> "any of its heavy weapons, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft artillery, armoured personnel carriers and tanks, communications and engineering equipment or vehicles used for military purposes". *(para. 13)*

Brazil is in agreement with the report when it states that

> "Without such equipment, the quartering process will not be complete" and that "the United Nations will not be in a position to declare that it is complete unless convincing evidence is provided that all regular, commando, engineer, support and other units of UNITA have been effectively cantoned or otherwise accounted for". *(Ibid.)*

On the political level, the prospects are still not reassuring. Up to now, Mr. Savimbi has not formally accepted the post of Vice-President. Most of the UNITA members of Parliament have not taken their seats in the National Assembly. Officials from UNITA have not yet joined the State administration at the national, provincial and local levels. Therefore, the coming meeting of President José Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi should indeed provide an opportunity to reach agreement on these critical questions.

Brazil, as the Council is aware, remains fully committed to the peace process in Angola. Our very substantial participation in UNAVEM III reflects a long-term involvement with Angola and its people, based on common cultural and historical roots, as well as on shared aspirations to social and economic development. We firmly believe that all Angolans are now tired of war and ready for reconciliation.

In this light, the Secretary-General recommends the extension of UNAVEM III's mandate for three months. The suggestion for a renewal of a short duration reflects the sense of the international community, which we

share, that further procrastination within the peace process is unjustifiable.

The mild improvement in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol should not distract us from the fact that the coming weeks will be critical. The Security Council, while closely monitoring the events in Angola, should concentrate efforts in assuring that concrete steps required for the consolidation of the peace process are taken without further delay.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jele (South Africa): My delegation wishes to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of July. May I also extend a word of congratulations and appreciation to Ambassador Elaraby of Egypt for the efficient manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the Council last month.

My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his current report on the situation in Angola. We are pleased to note from the report that there are positive developments in the implementation of some aspects of the Lusaka Protocol. We welcome in particular the promulgation of the Amnesty Law on 8 May 1996, the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police, and the beginning of the process of incorporating UNITA troops into the Angola Armed Forces.

However, the information in the report that over 18,000 troops have arrived in the camps without weapons, and that UNITA has not yet surrendered all of its arsenal and military equipment, is of grave concern to my Government.

My Government will not relent in its efforts to ensure that the peace process in Angola is well on track. In this connection, a meeting was held recently in South Africa between my Deputy President and Mr. Savimbi, at which Mr. Savimbi reiterated UNITA's commitment to the peace process. At that meeting, the Deputy President emphasized to Mr. Savimbi the urgent need for UNITA to translate that commitment into meaningful, tangible actions.

We consider it essential that both President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi should meet again, as a matter of urgency, in order to address all problem areas. The main focus of that meeting should be to expedite the issue of the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, which we believe is crucial to fostering the spirit of reconciliation as well as to enabling both parties to adopt a common approach on key issues.

My delegation would also like to echo the Secretary-General's plea to the donor community to respond generously to the needs created by demobilization and reintegration. In this regard, my Government has already contributed 28 million Rand to UNAVEM III for the quartering of troops prior to demobilization.

The men, women and children of Angola are crying out for peace in their country, and they deserve it. Both parties are called upon to fulfil this dream. The international community can accept no further delays in the full implementation of the peace process. It is essential that this process not be held hostage by any of the parties concerned.

Finally, my delegation wishes to register its full support for the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNAVEM III be extended for three months, to 11 October 1996.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of South Africa for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation extends hearty congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. I also wish to use this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Nabil Elaraby for his excellent stewardship of the Council in the month of June.

It is an honour and privilege for me personally to be granted this opportunity to address the Security Council for the first time. The honour to my country is doubly significant when the issue under consideration is an African issue, specifically, the fraternal country of Angola. Allow me to join others in addressing the Security Council as it considers yet again in a matter of

two months, a report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III).

We need not belabour the point that Angola, a country so devastated by war and internecine conflict, now deserves peace, peace-building, conflict resolution and national reconciliation. It is on the basis of that conviction, backed by the Bicesse Accords, the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions, that the international community remains and must continue to remain seized of the Angolan situation until peace arrives in this otherwise abundantly endowed African country.

Progress on the ground must primarily be predicated on the imperative that the Angolans themselves must first and foremost commit themselves fully to efforts aimed at restoring peace and stability in their country. The role of the international community must not be more than to complement the demonstrable political will of all the parties to the conflict, in particular the Government of the Republic of Angola and UNITA, to bury the old hatchet and give peace a chance at last.

Indeed, the very signing of the lengthily and arduously negotiated Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994 symbolized the resolve of both the main parties to settle the Angola question by peaceful means. Furthermore, it is at the request of Angolans that the international community, through UNAVEM III, maintains an important presence in that country to help facilitate the implementation of the peace process.

Despite the many hurdles surrounding the painfully slow peace process, it is an undeniable fact that the presence of UNAVEM III in Angola has contributed enormously towards the return of relative calm in that country. It is also through UNAVEM III that the concerns of the international community continue to be articulated, daily goading the Government and UNITA to expedite the peace process by fully honouring their undertakings to implement all provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. The current report of the Secretary-General points to some positive achievements made on the ground. The cease-fire is generally holding. These achievements should provide more room for energizing and consolidating the peace efforts of the Angolan people backed by UNAVEM III.

It is most encouraging to read in the report that, during the period under review, the pace of implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has been improving. A few of the high points are the Government's promulgation of the Amnesty Law on 8 May, completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police, and the second phase of the withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces from forward positions. Some progress has also been made on the part of UNITA in the quartering of its troops, and a start has been made to the incorporation of UNITA military personnel into the national army.

Apart from the Government's responsibility to fully deliver on its obligations with regard to the peace process, UNITA too clearly owes it to itself to do a lot to better the pace of its current performance. It must cooperate more with the Government and UNAVEM III in expediting the process of incorporating its troops into the national army by the agreed deadline of the end of July, and in facilitating the return of its generals to Luanda. At the same time, UNITA must complete the quartering of its remaining troops in a transparent manner. Last but not least, UNITA must hand in heavy weapons and related *matériel* to complete the quartering process.

Delayed action on whatever pretext or hidden agenda will not be tolerated by the international community at this critical stage in the Angolan peace process, especially when the Secretary-General is working to recommend additional resources to assist the incorporation process and help Angola to recover from decades of war.

In commending these positive developments, the Secretary-General points to the many as yet unfulfilled tasks that should have been completed well before yesterday. The process, which ought to have progressed from a cease-fire through the demobilization of ex-combatants and the formation of a new army, to national reconciliation, still remains far behind schedule.

Time is running out. The agony and suffering of the Angolan people continue. My delegation would like to make a strong appeal to UNITA to give peace a chance. A national effort is urgently required to address the serious problems of reconciliation, mine clearance and economic development.

The Secretary-General has warned that for the peace process to succeed in Angola all the parties, and UNITA in particular, must demonstrate greater readiness to implement, without delay or prevarication, all the commitments they have entered into. It is on this basis that the international community will continue to support

the efforts of the Angolan people to restore peace and stability to their country.

In conclusion, allow me to associate the Government of Tanzania with the appreciation expressed to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, to the personnel of UNAVEM III and to the various agencies and non-governmental organizations which are doing invaluable work in Angola in many fields under very difficult conditions. Tanzania hopes that the international community will remain steadfast in support of peace in Angola without showing the least signs of indifference or insufficient concern for Africa's longest civil war, which is steeped in internal conflicts and sometimes fuelled by continuing external interests.

In making these comments, Tanzania associates itself with the draft resolution before the Security Council at this meeting.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to say how pleased the Tunisian delegation is to see you presiding over the Security Council. Your ability and experience, combined with an in-depth knowledge of international problems, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, are guarantees of effective action in support of peace and security in the world. My congratulations go equally to your predecessor, Ambassador Nabil Elaraby of Egypt, who did excellent work in the Council last month.

The implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has today reached a crucial stage, which calls for intensified efforts with a view to ensuring the success of the peace process in Angola. It is true that progress has been achieved. The cease-fire is generally being respected. However, we cannot fail to note that difficulties persist in the implementation of that Protocol. The operations for the quartering of troops unfortunately continue to encounter delays which can have only negative implications for the peace process, thereby prolonging the suffering of the population. At the present stage, the aim should be to strengthen trust between the parties and encourage a climate of cooperation and national reconciliation.

New measures have been a taken to that end, such as the adoption of a framework agreement on military matters; the promulgation on 8 May of the Amnesty Law; the beginning of the process of incorporating military elements of UNITA into the Angolan Armed Forces; the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police; and the second phase of withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces from advanced positions. All these measures, set out in the Secretary-General's report of 27 June 1996, should inspire UNITA to extend its full cooperation in the implementation of the agreements reached.

The effective and complete quartering of combatants and the unification of the armed forces are all the more important because the pursuit of other operations, including the demobilization of troops and their incorporation into civil society, as well as demining, depend upon them.

In that respect, we welcome the action pursued by the United Nations to resolve the problems posed by the demobilization of troops, whose repercussions on security and the economic and social situation are clear. Likewise, we cannot fail to express our deep satisfaction at efforts to accelerate the demining process in Angola.

The role of UNAVEM III in the peace process is of the greatest importance. My delegation would like on this occasion to pay tribute to the personnel of the United Nations Mission, who are working under difficult and often dangerous conditions.

We hope that the Angolan parties will make further process on the road to peace, thereby enabling the United Nations forces to discharge their tasks under better conditions in order to fulfil their mandate as scheduled by February 1997. It is clear that the reconstruction of the country and the improvement of the living standards of the population are essential elements in the peace process.

In this context, the reforms which the Government of Angola is striving to introduce to remedy the economic problems of the country deserve effective support from the international community. In that respect, accelerating the peace process calls for a sustained commitment by investors and donors to continue and increase their contributions.

For all these reasons my delegation supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the

mandate of UNAVEM III for three months, until 11 October 1996.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Tunisia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mapuranga (Zimbabwe): My delegation wishes to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. We are sure that the Council's business will benefit tremendously from your wisdom and experience. May I also extend our warmest congratulations to Ambassador Nabil Elaraby of Egypt on his excellent stewardship of the work of the Council last month.

The Zimbabwean delegation is most grateful to you, Sir, for convening this meeting on the situation in Angola. We are also thankful to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his most informative report on the peace process in that country.

The Government and the people of Zimbabwe have continued to watch and witness developments in the brotherly country of Angola with immense interest and deep concern, as well as with boundless good will. Whilst we are fully convinced that the Bicesse and Lusaka accords, together with other subsequent frameworks of understanding, provide a sound basis for a solution in Angola, we cannot help getting worried at the pace at which the overall peace process has been evolving. Taking into consideration the readiness of the people of Angola to return to peace, the current and prolonged no-war-no-peace situation in that country is no cause for comfort.

In this regard, we are encouraged to note recent commendable measures, such as the promulgation of the Amnesty Law; the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police; the adoption of the framework agreement on military matters; the beginning of the process of incorporating UNITA military personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces; the second phase of the withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces from forward positions; some progress in the quartering of UNITA troops; and UNITA's submission of proposals to change the status of its radio station.

On the other hand, we are informed in the Secretary-General's report that the pace of the already much-delayed quartering of UNITA troops has decreased significantly; that significant numbers of UNITA troops arrive at the quartering camps with hardly any weapons at all; that there is a high number of desertions from the quartering areas; and that UNITA has not yet handed over to UNAVEM III personnel its heavy weapons, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft artillery, armoured personnel carriers and tanks, communications and engineering equipment or vehicles used for military purposes. The Secretary-General makes it clear in his report that there will be no quartering exercise to talk about until those important parts of the UNITA arsenal are brought in and all regular, commando, engineer, support and other units of UNITA are cantoned or otherwise accounted for.

The Secretary-General's report also states that:

> "If the peace process is to succeed, the parties, especially UNITA, must show greater readiness to implement, in good time, the commitments they have entered into". (*S/1996/503, para. 39*)

We call upon the international community in general, and the troika of observers in particular, to use their good offices to add impetus to the peace process, in the interests of the people of Angola.

We agree with the Secretary-General's observation that the demobilization and socio-economic integration of former combatants is an essential precondition for lasting peace in Angola. We therefore look forward to his recommendations on this issue, as promised in his report.

The Government of Zimbabwe recognizes with great appreciation the commendable efforts of all those Governments, non-governmental organizations and other agencies that have come to the assistance of the people of Angola in their hour of need through the provision of humanitarian aid in its multifarious forms. We can only encourage them to continue doing everything possible to sustain their current and future efforts.

Finally, my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation with regard to the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mozambique. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique): My delegation joins preceding speakers in extending to you, Sir, sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We have no doubt that your presidency is an assurance of the successful outcome of the Security Council's work this month.

I would also like to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Elaraby, for the brilliant manner in which he presided over the Council's work last month.

We come to this House humbled by the decisive role that the Council played in bringing peace and stability to Mozambique. We come, therefore, with a great sense of duty and responsibility to make our modest contribution to consideration of the issue before the Council today.

The Council is meeting once again in order to discharge its responsibilities at an important time in the history of the people of Angola, when peace and stability are within their grasp. My delegation has carefully examined both the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) and the draft resolution before the Council. We have also listened with keen attention and interest to the statement made by Mr. Higino Carneiro, Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola. We thank Vice-Minister Carneiro for giving us once again the real picture of the situation prevailing in that sister country. His statement underscores the urgency and determination with which the international community at large and the Council in particular must address the issue before it today.

My delegation wishes to welcome the positive developments in the peace process, particularly those described in paragraphs 6 and 36 of the Secretary-General's report, namely the promulgation of the Amnesty Law; the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police; the partial withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) to barracks; some progress in the quartering of União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) troops; and a small beginning of the incorporation of UNITA military personnel into the armed forces. These are significant steps towards implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

However, my delegation would like to express concern over the fact that the steps towards the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation are not being implemented, mainly because UNITA is not showing readiness, despite high-level consultations between the Government and UNITA on constitutional amendments. Furthermore, UNITA delays in the quartering of troops and its significantly reduced hand-over of its real military equipment to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) continue to be one of my delegation's concerns. Having all these developments in mind, my delegation concurs with the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNAVEM III be extended for a further period of three months, until 11 October 1996.

My Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, speaking before the Council on 27 January 1995, stressed the importance of these issues and underlined the importance we attached to the early implementation of the mandate of UNAVEM III. Our experience in the deployment of United Nations forces and the implementation of Security Council resolutions and presidential statements in our country shows that the sooner such a verification mission is established, deployed and implemented, the better for the success of the peace process.

The relevance and urgency of this action by the Council should not be underestimated. The signing of the Lusaka Protocol represented the culmination of a long and delicate process of negotiations to address the war situation in Angola and to contribute to bringing about peace and stability not only in that country but also in the entire region of southern Africa. We strongly believe that there is no real reason for peace in Angola to be delayed any longer.

No one should be allowed to hold the Angolan people hostage to motives alien to their desire for peace and prosperity. I would like, therefore, to urge the Council to look into these matters even more diligently and expeditiously, clearly identifying at every stage the detractors of the peace process.

The United Nations and the international community at large are duty-bound to extend their hand of solidarity to the people of Angola and their legitimate Government in their quest for peace and stability. In assisting the Angolan people, we consider of utmost importance observance of the principles and purposes of the Charter as well as of the principles of sovereignty, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal

affairs of the Republic of Angola, in line also with the peace accords.

So long as peace is not an irreversible reality in Angola, the success achieved in Mozambique can be considered neither complete nor solid. We wish to reaffirm our unconditional support for and solidarity with the people and the Government Of Angola. We reiterate our readiness to do our best to assist in efforts aimed at bringing about peace, harmony and national reconciliation in that sister country.

We urge every State Member of the United Nations, and in particular the members of the Security Council, to continue to render support to the peace process in Angola and to use all means at their disposal for the successful conclusion of the mandate of UNAVEM III.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Mozambique for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Cape Verde. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Leao Monteiro (Cape Verde)(*interpretation from French*): May I extend our congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that the Council will benefit greatly from your recognized skill and experience. We also thank your predecessor, Ambassador Elaraby, for the excellent work and the dedication that he showed in guiding the work of the Council last month.

As shown in the report of the Secretary-General issued two weeks ago, there has been some movement over the last two months in the process of implementing the agreed framework to advance the final settlement of the Angolan conflict. We welcome this and congratulate the parties on their many achievements.

It is particularly gratifying to note that the military situation is now calm, despite some isolated difficulties, and that political dialogue is being consolidated, reinforcing a climate of peace. The draft resolution before the Council will go far towards crowning United Nations efforts in conducting the peace process to a successful conclusion in Angola. We hope that these recommendations will have a positive fruitful impact upon all involved, including the international community. This is necessary because the positive developments so far have been insufficient and are still slow. Persistent delays may unfortunately have consequences that would go beyond a mere waste of time. Precious though time may be, they could contribute to eroding the most essential factor of the peace process, namely mutual trust. Without going into details, we should note that some failings brought to light in the Secretary-General's report and in the draft resolution, are raising questions that need to be promptly answered, lest serious fears arise as to the future.

If, despite everything, the implementation of the agreements is pursued and the light at the end of the tunnel can be seen by the Angolans, we should still have no illusions about any rapid achievement of happiness for this fraternal people. The time can be considerably shortened, however, if the international community does provide persistent and consistent aid to the national efforts of the Angolan people. Here too, time is of the essence. We believe that inadequacies and slowness in the keeping of promises must be quickly overcome. Support must precede and catalyze the process, and must not come forward *a posteriori*. Useful and beneficial social activity that can reintegrate combatants into a new national fabric is of an importance and urgency that must not ever be underestimated.

We thank the Council for this opportunity to join in the many expressions of solidarity towards the Angolan people and to offer encouragement and support to the parties in the peace process in that African country with a view to its successful conclusion in the shortest possible time. The tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, of his Special Representative, of UNAVEM III and of the three observer countries are deeply deserving of praise. The success of the mission will undoubtedly be realized thanks to those efforts. We also state our support for the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III, as recommended by the Secretary-General.

The President (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Cape Verde for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1996/536. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Henze (Germany) *(interpretation from French)*: Allow me at the beginning of my statement to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to wish you every success in your work. Naturally, you can count on our close cooperation with you. It is in a feeble effort to express our feelings of great friendship and respect that I shall try to make my brief statement in French.

Germany will vote in favour of the extension for three months of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). This three-month extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III, which has become the largest United Nations peace-keeping operation, will show the parties in Angola that we remain determined to support the peace process in that country, which has started to recover from the aftermath of a long civil war.

We have noted with satisfaction the progress made in recent weeks in the attainment of the goals and the application of the timetable agreed between the Government of Angola and UNITA. We encourage the parties to continue on this path.

The job that remains to be done is not an easy one. Although the timetable agreed between the Angolan Government and UNITA provides for the carrying out of several initiatives in the weeks to come, it seems to me that two elements in particular should be at the forefront of our concerns.

From the military standpoint, it is essential that the quartering of all UNITA troops and their integration into the Angolan Armed Forces, as well as the handing over of all weapons, in particular UNITA's heavy weapons, should be completed as soon as possible.

From the political standpoint, the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation as well as the speedy solution to the question of the post of Vice-President offered to UNITA remain essential.

I deem it important to stress that the international community cannot fail to support the peace process in Angola. To make the process a success, the parties, in particular UNITA, must show greater determination to discharge their commitments in timely fashion.

I take this opportunity to recall that UNAVEM must complete its mission by February 1997. We call upon the Angolan parties to make every effort to consolidate the peace process and to promote lasting national reconciliation in Angola.

The German Government will continue to support the peace process in Angola. In the area of demining in particular, the German Government intends to keep its deminers in the country to continue to give Angola assistance given the importance of finding a solution to this question. This assistance is just part of the humanitarian aid provided to Angola. In all, if contributions made by my country to the European Union are taken into account, Germany will have contributed $100 million in assistance to Angola over the last five years.

I should like to conclude by paying tribute to the personnel of UNAVEM, the personnel of United Nations programmes and bodies, and non-governmental organizations for the laudable job they have been doing in difficult conditions.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Germany for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Awaad (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset, Sir, to express my great pleasure at seeing you preside over the Council this month. We are fully confident that your well-known diplomatic skills and experience will be a great asset to the Council in its work.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude for all the kind words addressed to Ambassador Nabil Elaraby, President of the Council for June.

I should also like to welcome His Excellency, the Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola, who takes a keen interest in participating in the public meetings of the Council devoted to the situation in his country.

The Council's consideration of the situation in Angola takes place today in a climate that differs greatly from that which prevailed at the time of our last meeting on the subject two months ago. The steps taken by the Government of Angola and UNITA during the last two months are, in our view, extremely positive developments. The existence of some negative aspects does not detract from their positive nature. These negative aspects are attributed to the suspicion and

mistrust that are the result of more than two decades of devastating civil war.

The delegation of Egypt has read the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola. We should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, and to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) for their efforts, particularly in view of the fact that they are carrying out their tasks under very trying circumstances.

The report of the Secretary-General makes it clear that the challenges currently facing the peace process in Angola can be summed up in two main factors. First is the need for UNITA to complete the quartering of all its combatants and to hand over all its weapons and military equipment and ammunition to the United Nations in a manner that would allow movement towards the subsequent stages of the peace process. The second factor is the need for the reintegration of the demobilized military personnel of UNITA and the Angolan Armed Forces into civilian life. This is an extremely difficult task, particularly since such personnel number nearly 90,000.

We believe that facing these challenges constitutes an important basis for the achievement of national peace in Angola. If those challenges are not faced, the political solution will remain fragile. We also believe that failure to implement the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol within the agreed time-frame will erode the credibility of the whole peace process and will not help create a political climate favourable to beginning a new stage for the Angolan people, to bring them closer to national reconciliation, and to achieving rehabilitation, reconstruction and sustainable social, economic and human development.

The Angolan Government has recently taken praiseworthy steps, foremost among them beginning the disarmament of the civilian population, completing the quartering of the rapid reaction police, and the partial withdrawal of UNITA troops to the quartering areas, in addition to the beginning of the induction and reincorporation of some UNITA military personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces. All these are positive steps that reinforce mutual trust, and they deserve reciprocal positive steps from UNITA.

The eyes of the world are today on UNITA and its leader, Mr. Savimbi. He is being urged to take bold steps and initiatives in the right direction. We are confident that he will give the supreme interests of his people precedence over any other consideration. The people of Angola have the right to live in peace and harmony. They have the right to start the real battle to achieve human, social and economic development. The negative ramifications of the civil war are no secret. The unemployment rate in Angola, which has climbed higher than 50 per cent, and the country's severe financial deficit and external debt burden are all clear proof of the deterioration of the economic situation in this sisterly African country.

We hope that the August meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi will lead to definitive solutions to all outstanding political matters, foremost among which are, first, the question of the post of Vice-President, which is to be occupied by UNITA; secondly, the assumption by some UNITA leaders of ministerial posts in the new Government; and, thirdly, the occupation by UNITA of seats reserved for it in the Parliament and in the civilian administration at the local, provincial and national levels. This, naturally, would mean that UNITA would be transformed into a political party acting within the framework of Angolan legitimacy.

We share the Secretary-General's assessment that Angola today needs the support and assistance of the international community more than ever. The war has destroyed the basic facilities of the State, including the educational and health systems. According to United Nations statistics, the mortality rate of children under five has reached 320 per 1,000. The rate of registration of children in primary schools is 45 per cent of the target. These figures speak for themselves; they do not need any explanation.

On another level, one result of the war is 10 million land-mines — the highest rate in the world. Every citizen in Angola has a land-mine waiting for him or her. In addition to the presence of 1.25 million displaced persons within the boundaries of Angola, there are almost 300,000 refugees in neighbouring countries. This, in brief, is the situation for the coming stage, which makes it incumbent on the international community and the relevant United Nations organs to extend all possible support and assistance to realize the Angolan people's legitimate hope for and aspiration to a better life. Egypt, for its part, will hold back no possible support or assistance to the brotherly Angolan people.

The Egyptian delegation supports the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III for a further three months, until 11 October. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council. It is our hope that we will periodically receive from the Secretary-General

reports and information on developments in that sisterly country.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Mr. President, your great country, France, is well known for its contribution to refining the art of diplomacy. You therefore have the full confidence and support of my delegation as you discharge the responsibilities of President of the Council for this month. I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Elaraby of Egypt, for the excellent manner in which he deployed a combination of ancient and contemporary Egyptian political skills to guide the work of the Council last month.

Every single day that goes by matters a great deal to the people of Angola, and for the prospects for durable peace in that country. The dawn of a new day without cease-fire violations and innocent lives lost reinforces the hope of a war-weary people for a better tomorrow. The Government of Angola and UNITA have a historic opportunity to put an end to the civil war that has brought their country to the brink of self-destruction. Botswana is satisfied with the progress made by the Government of Angola in the implementation of its commitments. We encourage the Government to continue to take decisive steps and exercise exemplary leadership in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

The time has come for UNITA to recognize that as a party to the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol it has a duty and an obligation to implement its own commitments expeditiously and in full. The peace process requires partnership, trust and good faith. UNITA took great risks in waging war against the Government of Angola, and it almost destroyed the country; it must now faithfully and constructively take risks to participate vigorously in establishing peace in Angola. We therefore call upon UNITA expeditiously to quarter the remaining troops and hand over to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), without further delay, all arms and ammunition, especially the heavy military equipment which has been so obviously absent from the items handed over to UNAVEM III to date. We fully share the Secretary-General's view that unless the heavy weapons are handed over, the quartering will not be complete. The recent successful conclusion of the military talks should make it easier for UNITA to find its way, and should enable it to exercise greater flexibility in the resolution of the remaining issues.

The next few weeks will be crucial in the consolidation of the peace process and in making sure it becomes irreversible. Botswana attaches the utmost importance to the formation of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. We strongly believe that such a Government would have a salutary effect on the overall peace process. In this respect, UNITA members of Parliament should take their rightful places in the National Assembly, as this would have a positive effect on the talks on constitutional issues. In the same vein, we support the Secretary-General's observation that the question of the post of Vice-President for Mr. Savimbi should be resolved at the earliest possible opportunity. A meeting between President dos Santos and the leader of UNITA therefore has the full encouragement of my delegation, as such a meeting may speed up Mr. Savimbi's decision finally to assume his responsibilities in the national Government.

While the international community continues to apply pressure on the Government of Angola and UNITA to meet the obligations they have freely entered into, it is necessary for us all to bear in mind the desperate need for the provision to the Government and people of Angola of financial resources necessary to support, buttress and sustain the peace process in that war-ravaged country. The reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Angolan economy is a key element in underpinning the peace process. Assistance is urgently needed now as the process of demobilization and social reintegration gets under way. It is essential that the demobilized ex-combatants be assisted in becoming productive members of Angolan society. It is important to give particular attention to this aspect of the Angolan peace process, as it has the potential to haunt the country in the years ahead if neglected.

As we extend the mandate of UNAVEM III to 11 October 1996, I wish to conclude by expressing the strong desire of my country to see the next three months used productively to establish a solid foundation for lasting peace in Angola so that, when the Council considers the next report of the Secretary-General in October, which will be the beginning of the rainy season in southern Africa, the people of Angola will be looking forward to tilling the soil of their land and planting their crops without fear of resumed warfare under the cover of the sprouting bushes.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Botswana for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Somavía (Chile) (*interpretation from French*): At the outset, on behalf of Chile I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on the very effective and experienced way in which you have guided the Council's work. You, and the French team assisting you, may rely on Chile's full support in the exercise of your important functions.

(*spoke in Spanish*)

I also wish cordially to thank Egypt for its excellent and effective conduct of the presidency last month. Once again, Ambassador Elaraby demonstrated the personal and professional abilities that we all admire and which have earned such prestige for his country and himself. I congratulate the outstanding team that helped him in his work and thank them for the consideration they showed us during Egypt's exercise of the presidency.

The excellent report submitted by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) reveals an improvement in the political situation in that country. The encouraging news in that document has been supplemented by other information provided orally by the Secretariat and other parties during discussion of this item.

Like others who have spoken before me, I wish very briefly to emphasize some of the achievements made in the peace process, including such fundamental aspects as the maintenance of the cease-fire; the ongoing quartering of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and the incorporation of some of its personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces; the quartering of the rapid reaction police; the promulgation of the Amnesty Law; the demining of roads; and the expansion of humanitarian assistance coverage.

All of this is cause for satisfaction and should provide an important incentive to the international community for maintaining and increasing its support for Angola. However, and unfortunately, this progress is unfolding against a general background of delay in the fulfillment of commitments assumed by the Government and UNITA. This would explain the occasional tendency of some analysts to underrate the importance of these achievements.

As we have heard in the course of this debate, the peace process has reached a critical stage. The Council and the United Nations as a whole should therefore insist on respect for the agreed timetables for achieving the objectives.

That is why the parties, and UNITA in particular, must show clear proof of their willingness successfully to complete the peace process and to begin the reconstruction of Angola. Accordingly, there are certain steps that are indispensable in creating a climate of confidence in the political resolve to strengthen peace and give the Angolan people hope for a safe life. These steps include the handing over of the heavy weapons, including munitions, that UNITA still possesses; the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation; and the incorporation of UNITA members into State administration, Parliament and the Armed Forces. I would also mention the need to make progress towards the complete demining of the existing 10 million mines, which instil a deep sense of insecurity in anyone travelling through Angolan territory.

It is important for the parties to bear in mind the approaching end of UNAVEM III and the beginning of its personnel reduction so that they can act to establish a climate conducive to moving from the final cessation of hostilities to a new stage of consolidating peace through development to improve the living conditions of those who have suffered most in this civil war: the people of Angola.

The economic and social challenges facing Angola are of such magnitude that they require the efforts of all the country's inhabitants, especially its leaders. The Secretary-General's report calls attention to the country's critical economic situation and the large sums that will be required to support Angola's rehabilitation. According to this report, the amount of aid already committed — much less the quantities actually contributed — is insufficient to cover the implementation of the most urgent rehabilitation programmes, especially as regards the demobilization and socio-economic reintegration of former combatants.

A climate of political stability and civil calm is therefore indispensable for attracting private capital and the support of the international community. Delays and postponements of political agreements also set back the implementation of the urgent and necessary international support so sorely needed by Angola. We all know that true peace will come when there is true development to the primary benefit of the disadvantaged sectors.

We believe that the draft resolution before us contains a balanced text that recognizes the progress achieved in Angola but that also emphasizes the priority, at this stage of the process, of the timely and complete fulfillment of outstanding commitments.

The Government, and especially UNITA, should step up efforts to consolidate peace, because that alone will encourage the international community to provide the support necessary to overcome the massive crisis in Angola.

I wish to convey my thanks for the efforts made by the United Nations personnel in the field and the workers of humanitarian organizations and for the work done by the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal towards a solution of the problems afflicting Angola.

In conclusion, I would say that, despite the tragedies of the past, despite the slow progress towards peace, and despite all that remains to be done, Chile is firmly convinced that, given time, the leaders and people of Angola will have set the world an example of sensible and stable reconciliation. This is the time to think only of the needs and interests of the families of Angola and the communities in which they live. This process will succeed only when it has brought peace to the hearts of the people and fearlessness in looking forward to a new life of security for all.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Chile for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea) (*interpretation from French*): I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. I pledge the full support and close cooperation of my delegation as you carry out your important responsibilities. I also pay warm tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Elaraby of Egypt, for the effective way in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

(*spoke in English*)

Since the last extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) two months ago, there have been encouraging developments in the Angolan peace process. We welcome in particular the impressive progress in the quartering of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), with more than 20,000 additional UNITA soldiers registered in the quartering areas. We are also gratified to note the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police; the adoption of the framework agreement on military matters, which made possible the beginning of the long-awaited process of incorporating UNITA military personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces; the promulgation of the Amnesty Law; and the start of talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA on constitutional amendments necessary for the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation.

Although overall progress to date has been positive enough to warrant cautious optimism for the future, my delegation shares disappointment at the slow pace at which the peace process has been moving forward. The unsatisfactory quantity and quality of UNITA weapons handed over to UNAVEM III also remains a matter of concern. It must be recalled that the quartering process will not be complete until all UNITA troops are quartered in a credible and verifiable manner and all UNITA weapons, in particular heavy weapons, are handed over to UNAVEM III.

The Angolan peace process is now moving into its most critical stage. The three key tasks of the Lusaka Protocol — the quartering of UNITA troops, the formation of the unified armed forces, and the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation — should be completed in the coming days or weeks. The peace process will remain incomplete unless these crucial tasks are successfully achieved in good time. The draft resolution on which the Council is about to vote correctly outlines, in paragraphs 6, 8, 12 and 13, the nature of these tasks and specific steps to be taken by the Angolan parties. We urge the Angolan parties to implement their commitments without further delay.

In overcoming the remaining obstacles to the peace process, there is no substitute for the political will of the parties themselves. Mutual trust between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi is central to the commitment and political will of the parties. In this respect, we attach great importance to arriving at a clear understanding between the two leaders regarding their respective roles and the nature of the posts to be allocated to UNITA leaders in the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. Problems of this nature can best be resolved in a meeting between the two leaders. We view

the relevance of paragraph 14 of the draft resolution in this context.

One daunting challenge that comes with the progress of the peace process is the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants. Much has been said about the inseparable linkage between peace and development. The presence of a large number of demobilized ex-combatants in an economically precarious country such as Angola will most likely generate additional social tension, hindering the consolidation of hard-won peace. Hence the urgent need for professional training and the creation of employment opportunities, which go hand in hand with economic reconstruction and development. While the Angolan Government is to play a central role, we emphasize the support of international financial institutions as well as the generosity of major donor countries. It is in this light that we view the merit of paragraphs 11 and 22 of the draft resolution.

Finally, we support the extension of the UNAVEM III mandate for three months, as recommended by the Secretary-General.

In that light, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Republic of Korea for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Wang Xuexian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Please allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am convinced that under your guidance the Council's work this month will be successful.

At the beginning of our meeting today, Sir, you expressed sympathy on behalf of the Council for the heavy losses suffered by China in the recent serious floods. I will faithfully convey your words of sympathy to the Government and the people of China. I am sure that your expression of sympathy will provide strong support to the people of China, who are at this moment fighting the floods. On behalf of the Chinese people, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to you and through you, Sir, to the other members of the Council.

I wish also to pay tribute to Ambassador Elaraby, President of the Council last month, and to the Egyptian delegation. The excellent job they did fully demonstrates the skills of the ancient civilization of Egypt and the intelligence and wisdom of the Egyptian people.

I take this opportunity also to extend a warm welcome to His Excellency the Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola and to thank him for coming to the Council and making a statement, which we greatly appreciate.

The Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. This draft resolution decides to extend the mandate of the largest current United Nations peace-keeping operation by a further three months. This demonstrates the strong support of the international community for the Angolan peace process. We sincerely hope that both parties in Angola, particularly the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), will seize this opportunity and make full use of the favorable conditions created by the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) to accelerate the peace process with a view to ultimately achieving national reconciliation.

Developments during the past two months show that the parties concerned in Angola have taken a number of concrete steps to accelerate the process of national reconciliation and that some substantive progress has been made in the peace process.

We appreciate the Angolan Government's enactment of an Amnesty Law and its completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police force. These are necessary measures to build mutual trust and we would like to express our appreciation.

However, we are deeply concerned at the failure to achieve the anticipated objectives in implementing the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant agreements reached by the two Angolan parties. We call on the two parties, particularly UNITA, to demonstrate greater political will and a sense of national responsibility, to refrain from further delaying the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and the timetable reached by the two sides, to complete the quartering of forces and to take part in real earnest in the establishment of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and of joint national armed forces. The Chinese delegation wishes emphatically to point out once again that stagnation in the Angolan peace process is inconsistent with the spirit of the agreements reached by the parties concerned and is not what the international community would like to see.

The Angolan peace process is now at a critical historical juncture. If the two parties in Angola, proceeding from their overall national interests, can truly remove past grievances, bury the hatchet, build mutual trust and firmly advance the peace process, the future of Angola is bound to take a turn for the better, and the Angolan people will be able to embark on the broad road of national rejuvenation and development. Conversely, continued stagnation, or even retrogression, in the peace process will let slip the peace and tranquility long desired by the Angolan people and thrust the Angolan nation into further chaos and misery. We expect the two parties, particularly UNITA, to live up to the wishes of the Angolan people and the international community by making a choice in line with the historical requirements and by taking a political decision in the interests of Angolan nation.

The Chinese Government and people have always been very much concerned about the destiny of African peoples and have sympathized with and supported the cause of peace in African countries. During his visit to Africa last May, Chinese President Jiang Zemin pointed out that most African countries are moving towards political stability and entering a new historical period of seeking peace, stability and development. We are most gratified by the advent of such a period.

Now, the question of Angola has become the last hot issue in southern Africa to be resolved. We are in favour of continued strong support for the Angola peace process by the international community, so as to bring peace and tranquility to southern Africa as a whole.

Full-scale reconstruction remains to be undertaken in the post-war Angola. Economic recovery and reconstruction will be an arduous task for Angola, but this is the key to lasting peace. The international community should attach great importance to this question and give it effective support. China will continue to do its best to contribute to Angola's economic reconstruction. We are confident that once peace comes to Angola, the great and industrious Angolan people will overcome their difficulties and build Angola into a prosperous and beautiful country.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy) *(interpretation from French)*: Allow me first, Sir, to convey to you heartfelt congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for July. I have no doubt that your experience and great diplomatic skills will provide firm, effective guidance in our work. To that end, you can count on the full cooperation of the Italian delegation.

I should also like very warmly to thank Ambassador Nabil Elaraby and the entire delegation of Egypt for their excellent and very effective guidance of the Council's work during the month of June.

(spoke in English)

The most recent report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola confirms a number of positive developments. Albeit with persisting hesitations, the Lusaka Protocol is being implemented, and, in this connection, it is particularly important that a framework agreement on military matters has been achieved; that the quartering of the UNITA troops, although not complete, is under way; and that the process of their incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces has begun. Over the last few days new information has reached the Security Council concerning the speeding up of the quartering process for the remaining UNITA contingents also. It is our hope that after far too many unwarranted delays, the UNITA leadership will make good on the commitment undertaken with the signing of the Lusaka Protocol.

The progress achieved so far is still very fragile. The draft resolution on which the Council is about to vote clearly indicates areas in which further steps have to be taken quickly by the parties to consolidate a peace process which, as emphasized by the Secretary-General, has reached a critical juncture. On the political level, substantial progress has yet to be achieved. It is high time for a coalition Government to be formed and for the UNITA members of Parliament to take their seats in the National Assembly. Such a development would not only mark a turning point in the crisis, but would also allow the depleted energies of the country to be focused on the crucial emergency of the looming economic disaster.

The disquieting information provided in this respect by the Secretary-General's report shows quite clearly that the prospects for peace in Angola might be disrupted if an upturn in the economic and social situation is not quickly achieved. International assistance to Angola, though insufficient, is already under way, and all the relevant entities of the United Nations system are also active in the country. Let me here recall that for the period 1990-1995, the Italian Government provided assistance in various forms to a total of $109 million. For the year 1996 additional funds totalling approximately

$12.5 million have been allotted. Moreover, Italy is participating with a team of instructors in the demining activities being conducted by the parties with the assistance of the United Nations and the international community.

Mine clearance and road rehabilitation are essential for the safety of the population, as well as for the economic recovery of Angola. Progress in both areas is being reported as a result of the good work carried out by specialized units of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) and by non-governmental organizations. We note that, after extensive delays, UNITA is also showing greater cooperation in the demining activities.

To maximize the impact of the assistance provided and to allow a resumption in earnest of economic activity, a more effective handling of the situation in Luanda and the extension of State administration throughout the country are absolutely necessary. The post-conflict peace-building phase which Angola is now entering will require a determined effort by all, inside and outside the country, to recreate conditions allowing the population to benefit from the rich natural resources of the country.

Although the peace process now seems to be well established, the enduring commitment of the parties remains of critical importance. Both parties — but in particular UNITA — should show an even stronger determination to pursue in good faith the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. Let us not forget that the many delays of the last few months have resulted in new and even more unjustified suffering for the people of Angola.

Finally, let me express once again our heartfelt thanks to all those who have contributed to this peace-keeping operation: the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, the UNAVEM III personnel and the troika of observer nations.

For the reasons explained above, Italy will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Italy for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Queta (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first, Sir, to say how very pleased we are to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council for the month of July. We are sure that, thanks to your skills and well-known qualities, our work will be successful. At the same time I should like to express our gratitude to Ambassador Elaraby and the entire delegation of Egypt for their excellent work in conducting the business of the Council in June.

I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome His Excellency General Higino Carneiro, Vice-Minister without Portfolio of the Government of Angola.

Since 8 May, the date of the last extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III, the situation in Angola with regard to the consolidation of the peace process has improved in an encouraging way, despite certain delays. In fact, the adoption by the two parties of the framework agreement on military matters, the beginning of the incorporation of the military personnel of UNITA into the Angolan Armed Forces, the agreement between the President of Angola and Mr. Savimbi on the establishment of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation by the second week of August, and the progress made in demining and lifting checkpoints are all positive developments, which we applaud.

Accordingly, my delegation encourages the parties to continue to show their commitment to peace by destroying stocks of land-mines and by lifting all checkpoints so as to guarantee the free circulation of people and goods throughout all the territory of Angola.

The quartering and disarmament of all UNITA forces — another essential element of the peace process — and the handing over of all their weapons, should be completed without further delay.

We welcome the measures taken by the Government of Angola towards peace, such as the amnesty proclaimed in keeping with the Libreville accord, the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the adoption of the programme for the disarmament of the civilian population. These important measures adopted by the Government of Angola will, we are sure, help to consolidate peace in this fraternal country.

Despite continuing delays, my delegation believes that the process that has been started is on the right track. We therefore encourage the President of Angola and the head of UNITA to meet as soon as possible in Angola to resolve all outstanding issues. In fact, only political will and the determination of the parties can help to bring about a lasting peace, stability and security in Angola.

As for security, the two parties and others interested in Angola should take all necessary steps to guarantee the security of United Nations personnel and the personnel of other international organizations, as well as the premises that they occupy, in addition to freedom of circulation for humanitarian relief. This could encourage the international community to continue to provide Angola with aid.

In the current stage of the process, the demobilization of ex-combatants, their reintegration into civil society and the recovery and reconstruction of the Angolan economy are of the greatest importance. Accordingly, my delegation encourages the international community to provide the necessary financial resources within the joint United Nations Appeal for Angola, in the certain belief that the two parties will honour their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol.

We will support the draft resolution before us to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III because we are optimistic enough to believe that the Angolan leaders, particularly the head of UNITA, will renew their commitment to the peace process that we have hoped for.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to the efforts of the observer countries, the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal, to those of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, and to the entire personnel of UNAVEM III for their commitment to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Guinea-Bissau for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the duties of President of the Council, and wish you, and the entire French delegation, every success in that post. We express our gratitude to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Egypt, Ambassador Elaraby, for the work carried out by him and the Egyptian delegation last month.

It also gives me sincere pleasure to thank the head of the Angolan Government delegation, General Carneiro, Vice-Minister without Portfolio, for his comprehensive statement. As one of the troika of observer nations of the Angolan settlement process, the Russian Federation is keenly interested in the successful advancement of the peace process and the speedy establishment in that country of lasting peace and stability, and is sparing no effort to attain those goals. Resolving the years-long conflict in Angola would not merely be a great boon for that friendly country and other countries in southern Africa, but would be a major success story for the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

We are pleased to note that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has recently been proceeding at a faster pace. The completion of the talks on military questions has opened the way to the establishment of a unified armed force. Agreement has been reached on the creation by the middle of August of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. Several important steps have been taken to consolidate the peace process, including the quartering of the rapid reaction police, the continuation of the withdrawal of troops to defensive positions, and the start of the operation to disarm the civilian population. Progress has been made in the area of demining and ensuring freedom of circulation of people and goods, and the level of hostile propaganda has dropped. At the same time, we are concerned that the implementation of key elements of the peace process is still very much behind schedule. Again, we must say that the primary responsibility for this lies with UNITA.

Recently, under pressure from the international community, UNITA has taken certain positive steps, notably by bringing the overall number of its servicemen registered in the quartering areas to 53,000. Nevertheless, the commitments it undertook in this area have not been fully met. We agree with the conclusion of the Secretary-General's report, that until UNITA quarters all of its troops and hands over to UNAVEM III all of its weapons, including heavy weapons, the quartering cannot be deemed complete. A component of this process must be the quartering of the so-called police forces set up by UNITA in several regions in violation of the Lusaka Protocol.

It is also important for the leadership of UNITA immediately to comply with the agreements to return the generals assigned to them to the Angolan Armed Forces, ensure that UNITA Members of Parliament take their seats in the National Assembly, and take steps speedily to incorporate its designated representatives into the work of the country's State administration at various levels. Of great importance is a constructive solution to the question of the post of the Vice-President of the country.

The coming weeks will be decisive for the fate of the peace process as a whole, as important decisions of

a military and political nature are taken. In this regard, we feel it is appropriate that the international community not relax its justified, targeted and carefully measured pressure on the participants in the settlement, encouraging them scrupulously to abide by the Lusaka Protocol.

It is important that this policy be combined with purposeful support of the peace process, including material assistance for the implementation of the painstakingly planned and phased demobilization of former combatants and their integration into civilian life. Very active support is also necessary in establishing greater trust between the parties. We have high hopes for the meeting scheduled for early August between President dos Santos and the leader of UNITA, Mr. Savimbi.

The Russian delegation feels that the draft resolution on Angola before the Council today is adequate to the tasks of this stage of the Angolan settlement. We believe that the Security Council's new resolution will send a serious signal to the participants in the settlement, primarily UNITA, to show good faith in fulfilling the obligations they have assumed. The Russian delegation, together with other members of the Security Council, will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): Our congratulations go to you, Sir, on your assumption of office and our thanks to the Egyptian delegation for guiding us so successfully through June.

The draft resolution before us correctly identifies the steps which are necessary for a lasting peace in Angola and we will vote in favour of it. The draft resolution extends the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) to 11 October 1996. While we do not generally favour short mandates, we believe a three-month mandate is necessary to keep pressure on the parties at this crucial stage in the peace process.

Angola is moving closer towards a secure and peaceful future. We are pleased that an Amnesty Law has now been promulgated and that the quartering of the rapid reaction police has been completed. We welcome the continuing withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces to barracks and the recent reports that UNITA has released all remaining prisoners. We are also encouraged that preparations have now been made to quarter more UNITA troops.

These and other developments are, rightly in our view, acknowledged in the draft resolution as positive steps in the peace process. We urge both parties to ensure that these efforts are not set back by a failure to follow through on the remaining Lusaka Protocol commitments. It is important, therefore, that the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III to 11 October 1996 be used constructively.

Much remains to be done. In particular, we need to see UNITA complete the quartering of its troops and hand over its arms, heavy weapons, ammunition and other equipment. This has to be matched by the incorporation of UNITA military personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces and of its civilian personnel into the State administration and the national police. The broader process of demobilization and reintegration also needs to be stepped up, and it is essential that both parties agree soon on the formation of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. We urge President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to meet as soon as possible to discuss the outstanding issues.

We are concerned at recent reports that the integration of UNITA into the Angolan Armed Forces may have been suspended. We have commended the integration process in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. It is clearly important, therefore, that the Government clarify the situation so that the process can be resumed without delay.

We hope that the Secretary-General will be able to report by 1 October that these tasks have been completed. They should be concluded promptly — delays in one area risk undermining progress in other areas and could put the entire peace process in jeopardy. It is worth noting that UNAVEM III is the largest United Nations peace-keeping operation. As such, it remains an important test for the United Nations as a whole.

Finally, I should like to pay tribute to the achievements of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Beye, and to the men and women of UNAVEM III, who are working actively on behalf of the international community to achieve a stable and peaceful future for the people of Angola.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me to convey to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your vast diplomatic experience and your distinguished personal and professional abilities ensure the success of our work. We offer you and the entire French delegation our full cooperation.

We also congratulate Ambassador Nabil Elaraby and the delegation of Egypt for their outstanding handling of the Council presidency in June.

The current situation in Angola and the state of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the timetable agreed by the parties indicate that the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) are not doing everything necessary to accelerate the peace process in that country.

There have been some positive developments in the peace process in Angola, such as the promulgation of the Amnesty Law; the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police; the ongoing withdrawal to barracks of the Angolan Armed Forces; the beginning of the incorporation of UNITA troops into those forces; the adoption of a programme for disarming the civilian population; and a gradual of the improvement of the humanitarian situation. We must recognize that aspects that are fundamental to the pacification of the country have yet to be fully carried out. The quartering of UNITA troops within the time-frame set out in Security Council resolution 1055 (1996) and the timetable set by the Joint Commission has not been completed, nor has UNAVEM III received all the arms, munitions and military equipment. Moreover, in the political sphere, there is as yet no tangible progress with regard to the prompt formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation.

Overall, for my delegation, the political, military, economic and social outlook in Angola continues to be discouraging. So long as the parties have not fully implemented the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions, and have not observed the commitments undertaken at Libreville, Gabon, we believe that there will be no lasting solution to the Angolan problem. We believe that the parties, especially UNITA, must show greater interest in promptly carrying out their commitments in order not to further delay the peace process. We therefore urge them speedily to fulfil their obligations and to take the necessary corrective steps.

Angola is experiencing a serious economic and social crisis that requires the immediate assistance of the international financial institutions and the support of the donor countries. The rehabilitation of communities devastated by war, the reconstruction of the Angolan national economy and the process of the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants are essential conditions for the restoration of peace in Angola. My country therefore appeals to the interrational community and to donor countries to continue their support for the peace process and for the needs arising from the demobilization and reintegration process.

With regard to UNAVEM III, my delegation recognizes that the Mission has pursued all its activities in monitoring and verification, assistance to humanitarian convoys, the work of demining and road repair, as well as human rights training for UNITA soldiers in the quartering areas. My delegation therefore believes that, at the present phase of the peace process, the presence of UNAVEM III is necessary. We will vote in favour of the draft resolution extending its mandate for three additional months.

The President ((*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Honduras for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): It is indeed a great pleasure for my delegation to associate itself with previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of July. We are confident that given your vast experience and leadership we can be assured of substantial progress in the work of the Council. Let me pledge my delegation's full cooperation to you and your delegation as you discharge your tasks. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Nabil Elaraby, and the delegation of Egypt, for their skillful stewardship of the Council's activities last month.

We also wish to extend a sincere welcome to the Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola, General Higino Carneiro, and to express our appreciation for his lucid statement on the situation in Angola.

Like others, the Indonesian delegation is most grateful to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive

and informative report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1055 (1996) of 8 May 1996. My delegation is gratified to note that UNAVEM III has greatly contributed to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and continues to play an exemplary role not only in the realm of peace-keeping, but also in peace-building and post-conflict management. In this regard, we would like to pay tribute to the personnel of UNAVEM III for their highly commendable work under difficult circumstances, as well as to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, for his dedication to furthering a comprehensive and sustainable peace in the country. Similarly, we welcome the efforts of the observer States in promoting peace and security in Angola.

Substantial progress has been made towards the establishment of a lasting peace in Angola, as is clearly reflected in the various paragraphs of the draft resolution now before us. We are pleased to note that steps are being taken in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol. This is reflected in the promulgation of the Amnesty Law, the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police, and the partial withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) to barracks. The agreement reached between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA on the establishment of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation will capitalize on the positive achievements made previously. Throughout this process, the presence of UNAVEM III has contributed significantly to advancing the restoration of peace to Angola by a multitude of tasks: the monitoring and verification of the cease-fire; the withdrawal and quartering of troops and police; the guarding of collected weapons; the patrolling of major routes; escorting humanitarian convoys; and other essential tasks. It is therefore clear that UNAVEM III has had to devote as much attention to alleviating the misery of the civilian population as to efforts to control and resolve the conflict.

But given the considerable role UNAVEM III plays in Angola, my delegation feels that the task at hand is far from complete and that much remains to be done. We are seriously concerned at the slowness of the pace in the implementation of some aspects of the Lusaka Protocol, which has already fallen behind schedule. The quartering and disarming of União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) troops constitute critical components for the success of the peace process. The Indonesian delegation urges the parties to capitalize on the positive momentum of the peace process before a new series of concerns emerges to confront the nascent Angolan State. In this regard, we would like to remind both parties that UNAVEM III is expected to complete its mission by February 1997. We therefore call on the parties to accelerate the pace in the areas of the disarmament of the civilian population and the incorporation of UNITA forces into the FAA, and to complete the withdrawal of the FAA from forward positions. It is also essential that the quality of weapons handed over by UNITA be improved, particularly the heavy weapons, and that a solution be found to address the high desertion rate.

It is the view of my delegation that disarming the population, building a national army and reintegrating the ex-combatants are crucial steps for a lasting and comprehensive peace in Angola. There are already alarming indications regarding the breakdown of law and order. In regions where UNITA troops are withdrawing, banditry, looting and killing are threatening the return to normalcy. Such a situation only highlights the need to extend State administration throughout the country, as referred to in paragraph 5 of the draft resolution. It is therefore essential for the political leaders to achieve a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation as soon as possible in order to avoid any serious deterioration in Angola.

In this regard, my delegation underlines the importance of paragraph 13 of the draft resolution, urging the Government of Angola and UNITA to take all necessary steps for all elected members of Parliament to take their seats in the National Assembly. This will generate the functioning of democratic mechanisms in the country, which could bring about a climate conducive to political stability and genuine peace. In this context, it is clearly discernable that hostile propaganda broadcasts can indeed adversely affect the spirit of national reconciliation and reconstruction in Angola. My delegation therefore calls upon the parties concerned to put an end to this exercise, which not only hinders the implementation of the peace process as a whole but also damages it.

The need for Angola to reconstruct its national fabric is essential. This, in our opinion, is a multifaceted endeavour. It is therefore imperative that the Lusaka Protocol be implemented in full and in a timely manner, which in turn will establish peace between the parties. Moreover, we are aware of the threat that mine pollution poses; hence, mine-clearance is fundamental if the Angolan people are to return to the fields and move freely in their own country. Needless to say, the

reconstruction of the country's infrastructure will undoubtedly enable the people of Angola to resume a semblance of normal life. The many woes that confront Angola, compounded by the deep economic crisis, can be solved only through the full implementation of the Protocol. It is therefore necessary for the international community to continue to respond positively to the rehabilitation efforts of Angola, for this would constitute a vital contribution to a durable peace.

None the less, it must be emphasized that genuine peace can be attained only if the parties themselves show greater readiness to implement their commitment and to act in a spirit of flexibility and compromise. We look forward to the meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi in the territory of Angola, as this will provide the opportunity for them to resolve all remaining issues and to promote confidence-building between the parties.

In the light of these considerations and given the fundamental role UNAVEM III plays in contributing to the implementation of the peace process, my delegation supports the extension of the Mission's mandate for another three months, and therefore will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us. Not only will this extension consolidate the gains achieved in the peace process; it ought to be seen as an opportunity for the parties faithfully to implement all relevant agreements they themselves have entered into. It is our sincere hope that during this period the parties will be afforded a significant opportunity to demonstrate their willingness to resolve their own problems and to respect the role of international and regional organizations.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Indonesia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): Let me begin, Sir, by extending to you our most sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. We have full confidence in your leadership. I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Nabil Elaraby of Egypt, for his efficient and — let me stress — pleasant conduct of the business of the Council during the month of June.

The civil war that has ravaged Angola for the last 20 years is one of the most bloody and long-lasting internal conflicts in Africa. It has devastated that beautiful, rich country. Almost half a million Angolans have perished in its wake and three million people remain internally displaced today.

A ray of hope, none the less, shone on Angola in November 1994 at the signing of the Lusaka Protocol between the leaders of the warring parties. The international community in general had good reason to be satisfied — above all the United Nations and, particularly, this body. It was, after all, very much as a result of the active, strong and unanimous position of the Security Council that the parties to the conflict in Angola began the difficult task of national reconciliation. There is no doubt that the Lusaka Protocol represented a turning-point and, at the same time, an auspicious start for the building of a peaceful, prosperous and, most important, unified Angola.

Following the signing of the Lusaka Protocal, it has clearly emerged from the Security Council debates on Angola that the process of national reconciliation is a far more complex undertaking than could have been predicted.

The report of the Secretary-General presenting developments in the situation in Angola since May 1996, contained in document S/1996/503, is slightly more optimistic in tone than previous reports. Unfortunately, it does not contain significantly different observations. We are encouraged to note positive elements such as the promulgation of the Amnesty Law, completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police, some progress in the quartering of UNITA troops and the beginning of the incorporation of UNITA military personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces.

At the same time, we are disappointed to note negative elements such as the high number of desertions from the quartering areas, the unsatisfactory quality and quantity of weapons handed over by UNITA, the failure to quarter UNITA police personnel, delays in the quartering of all UNITA troops, and the incomplete withdrawal of Government troops from forward positions. Factors such as these do not allow us to claim that the peace process in Angola has already reached that critical point from which we need fear no return to a state of war.

We fully share the opinion of the Secretary-General that the coming weeks will be crucial for the future of Angola. The first important task to be accomplished during this time is the integration of Government and UNITA troops into the joint Angolan Armed Forces.

This should be accompanied by the demobilization of the remaining troops and the demilitarization of the civilian population. The next step in national reconciliation, we believe, should be to establish a new political dimension, the most important feature of which will be a fully inclusive Government and State administration in which both parties are properly represented.

Good will and the full engagement of all parties concerned are needed now more than ever. We call upon the Government of Angola, and in particular upon UNITA, to ensure that all their declarations and commitments are put into effect and that the schedules adopted are fulfilled in appropriate and timely fashion.

Angola is now confronted with enormous economic and social challenges such as reconstruction of the national economy, preparation for a possible food shortfall, reintegration of the demobilized troops into the social life of Angola and, last but certainly not least, the clearance of the mines that continue to endanger the life and health of civilians. The international community will certainly continue to offer its assistance, provided that the people of Angola demonstrate their willingness to cooperate actively to restore long-lasting peace and stability to their country.

The international community has made a concerted effort to help Angola in the best way it can. The proof is embodied in UNAVEM in all its phases. UNAVEM, already in phase III is the largest United Nations peace-keeping operation anywhere in the world. However, it must be clear that the presence of UNAVEM in Angola can be justified only if there is visible progress in the process of national reconciliation.

Today we are going to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III for a further three months. Our delegation very much hopes that the presence of UNAVEM III will be properly and effectively utilized by the leaders and the people of Angola, who have been given a great opportunity to return promptly to a state of normalcy. That opportunity must not be missed.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Poland for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1996/536.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French)*: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1064 (1996).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States): May I first express my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency during the month of July and pledge our full cooperation, and also express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Elaraby and the Egyptian delegation for their excellent stewardship of the Council during the month of June.

Finally, may I express our welcome to the Angolan delegation that has joined us in the Council today led by Minister Carneiro.

The United States is strongly committed to the Angolan peace process, a process that we believe will give Angolans the opportunity to build a strong, prosperous, united, democratic and peaceful nation. The resolution we have just adopted demonstrates that the Security Council shares that commitment. We welcome the progress that has been made to date, and we are encouraged that the process is moving forward. Yet, sharing the view of other Council members, we regret that implementation is still behind schedule, leaving important steps still to be taken. Rapid progress is essential, including in such vital areas as demobilization, reintegration and demining.

There has been real movement since the renewal of the mandate on 8 May. In these eight weeks, we have seen passage of an Amnesty Law; an accord between the Angolan Armed Forces and UNITA on military integration; entry of the vanguard of UNITA officers into the Angolan Armed Forces; the quartering of another 17,000 troops, bringing the numbers to over 50,000 registered; three ceremonies to destroy landmines; quartering of the Government's rapid reaction police; further withdrawals of the Angolan Armed Forces to barracks; launching of a plan to disarm the civilian

population; good progress in bilateral Government-UNITA discussions on constitutional reform; closing of eight UNITA quartering sites; and lifting of some checkpoints. Clearly, some of these actions have been incomplete, but movement has been substantial and in the right direction. These are important steps toward peace for the people of Angola.

Let me focus for a moment on a key phase of the peace process, namely demobilization. Quartering of UNITA troops must conclude soon — this month — and a rapid and orderly demobilization of those who will not enter the integrated military must begin in order to sustain confidence in the peace process. Some 67,000 Government and UNITA soldiers are scheduled to be demobilized: soldiers who are understandably uncertain and anxious about their future. These soldiers have much to contribute to Angola's massive reconstruction process.

Angolan authorities and the international community must ensure that the considerable energy and talent of these demobilized soldiers are properly developed and channelled. International support is essential to ensure that demobilization and reintegration of former combatants is rapid. We and our partners in the international donor community are committed to assisting the successful demobilization of Government and UNITA troops, but only $10 million of the $42 million required for the first year of the demobilization and reintegration process has been received. We call on other Member States to give this urgent requirement their fullest attention. Demobilized combatants must have a real stake in peacetime Angola; they must be convinced that there is indeed "life after Lusaka".

Today's resolution rightly calls attention to the urgent task of demining. Demining is essential to enable the free circulation of people and goods throughout Angola, and thus crucial to demobilization and reconstruction efforts. We encourage the parties to exert an even greater effort in all phases of the demining process. We also commend the three land-mine destruction ceremonies that have been held, one by the Government and two by UNITA. We continue to believe a joint land-mine destruction ceremony would have a tremendous impact on the psychology of Angolans, providing further assurances that after two decades of war a new era of peace and national reconciliation is dawning.

The coming few months are of critical importance for the peace process. As the peace process moves forward, and with UNAVEM's expected completion date of February 1997 drawing closer, the tasks become harder, the stakes get higher, and the political will required of both parties must not waver. The Government and UNITA have, in the Joint Commission, agreed upon a calendar of actions for July. The Security Council will be following the actions of the parties closely to see that each side is living up to its obligations. The UNITA troops which will enter into the unified armed forces must be selected, and they, along with UNITA officers, must enter into the new, joint military. We were distressed to learn this morning that there seems to be some disruption in the selection process which had just started in the past few days. We trust that both sides will show the utmost commitment, political will and necessary flexibility to get the process of incorporating UNITA troops into the Angolan Armed Forces back on track without further delay.

Creation of the joint military, and demobilization of those troops not selected for its ranks, will be an important cornerstone in building the trust and confidence that are key to the future of Angola. Another pivotal step will be the establishment of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. We fully understand that these steps are not easy ones to take, but they must be taken, not only to fulfil formal obligations, but to cement the confidence and trust the parties have been building over the past year and a half. Differences of opinion may arise and actions may be questioned, but any difficulties must be worked out through peaceful means and dialogue. With the requisite political will, in the current climate of growing cooperation, the necessary steps can be taken within the time-frame agreed to by the two parties. We fully expect to hail the formation of a new Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, and the irreversibility of the peace process, within the current mandate period covered by today's Security Council resolution.

I conclude by commending the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Maître Beye, the Force Commander of UNAVEM, and all personnel of UNAVEM III for their dedication and courageous service in the cause of peace. The peace process would not be where it is today without them. We are also grateful for the generosity of countries that have contributed troops to the UNAVEM force.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United States of America for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of France.

The Security Council regularly takes up the question of Angola. For the first time, we note that, as the Secretary-General has stressed in his report, real progress has been made in implementing the peace process. Peace in Angola is becoming truly credible.

First, we should congratulate the Angolan Government, which has made swift progress in implementing its obligations, especially with regard to the Amnesty Law, the release of prisoners, the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the recent launch of the disarmament programme for the civilian population. We also warmly welcome the efforts made by UNITA with regard to the quartering of its troops. The resolution that we have just adopted takes account of these positive developments, and that is why we voted in favour of it.

However, much remains to be done. First, it is absolutely essential that the quartering of UNITA troops be completed as soon as possible. Quartering will become truly credible only when UNITA has handed over its heavy weapons and all troops have been demobilized. At the same time, it is clear that that quartering makes sense only if there is a real possibility for former combatants to be integrated into the Angolan Armed Forces or to be rapidly and effectively reintegrated into civilian life. That is why it is essential that integration and reintegration of demobilized combatants be carried out promptly.

It is equally essential that national reconciliation be gradually consolidated and that, in that spirit, a Government of unity be rapidly formed. We understand that the question of the vice-presidency which should fall to Mr. Savimbi is the keystone of all of these negotiations. We therefore hope that the meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, which should be held in Angola in early August, will bear fruit.

It is important that the parties understand that the United Nations will not be present in Angola indefinitely. It is clear that UNAVEM III will have to begin leaving the country as scheduled in February 1997. For that reason it is necessary for the former warring parties to overcome their remaining problems as soon as possible and in the general interest, and for the international community to support the efforts towards economic rehabilitation that are needed in Angola to ensure stability and lasting development in that country.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3680

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3680th Meeting

Friday, 12 July 1996, 10.45 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Dejammet	(France)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Motswagae
	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Egypt	Mr. Abdel Aziz
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Włosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1996/507 and Add.1)

96-85930 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1996/507 and Add.1)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Georgia and Ireland, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chkheidze (Georgia) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Campbell (Ireland) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, documents S/1996/507 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/544, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1996/371, letter dated 23 May 1996 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1996/527, letter dated 8 July 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Georgia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a letter dated 6 July 1996 from the President of Georgia addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Georgia, and I now call on him.

Mr. Chkheidze (Georgia) (*interpretation from Russian*): I am gratified, Sir, to have the opportunity once again to express to you our profound respect and to greet you in your capacity as President of the Security Council.

Allow me, on behalf of my Government, to express deep gratitude to the United Nations to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and his representatives for their assistance to Georgia in its time of hardship.

We should like to extend our sincere gratitude to the group of countries known as "Friends of Georgia" for their attention and their tireless efforts aimed at a comprehensive solution to the conflict. We also wish to express our gratitude to Russia, as facilitator, for its untiring peace-keeping efforts.

Our country has consistently been aware of the support of the international community. Today, hundreds of thousands of persecuted people see their prospects for salvation as based on approaches elaborated by the international community. Their hopes for the future are linked to this. This faith is today a vital force for Georgia. It is thanks to this faith that we can survive all the festering wounds that the Abkhaz war has inflicted on many families on both sides of the Inguri River.

Today, the origin and development of the confrontation is no longer a secret. Also well-known are how the conflict arose, fed by slogans of defence of the communist empire; what the sources of weapons were; and the mandate for impunity for aggressive separatism.

The development of democratic processes condemned to failure the policy of force, which was fighting to continue the conflict in Abkhazia and in other regions of the former Soviet empire. Antagonism arose between progressively developing democracy and remaining revanchists, who stood on the sidelines; this revanchism set its roots in such hotbeds as Abkhazia.

The development of the tragic events in that region significantly promoted the process of the spread of large quantities of weapons and drugs, as well as the formation

of illegal armed bands, which later became bandit units. Abkhazia was transformed into a powerful force for destabilization in the Caucasus, and, despite the efforts of the international community, this negative trend continues to intensify.

This conflict continues to impede the development of sound political processes and is an insurmountable barrier to economic and social progress. The Secretary-General's latest report rightly takes note of the fact that the peace process is at a standstill. The Gali region, on which international efforts are currently focused, is engulfed by lawlessness and chaos. Today the process of political settlement has been essentially undermined. Negotiations have broken off and the rare meetings merely create the illusion that they are continuing. The small number of refugees who have returned to their homes have become hostages in the hands of bandit groups, and their lives and dignity are humiliated.

The implementation of a policy of genocide and "ethnic cleansing" towards Georgians in Abkhazia was broadly recognized for the first time at the Budapest Summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (S/1994/1435). The Parliament of Georgia is considering a wealth of information received by the Prosecutor's office that bears witness to crimes against humanity. The policy of violence has forced three quarters of the Abkhazian population to leave their homes. The physical and moral condition of these displaced persons, who have been forced to remain without shelter, is desperate, and their death rate has significantly increased.

These ethnically-motivated murders, abductions and torture are compounded by a deterioration of the general situation of crime throughout the territory of Abkhazia. The targets of violence are no longer selected based on ethnic criteria: Abkhazia has been transformed into a sanctuary for local and foreign criminals.

In this situation, it seems cynical at the very least for the separatists to assert that the obstacle to the return of refugees is the will of the remaining local population and that "some time" is required to change this. This issue is addressed in paragraph 7 of the Secretary-General's report. This is nothing but an attempt to create the impression that genocide and the forcible takeover of territories as a result of the allegedly provoked conflict should be taken for granted and that the majority remaining in the territory is concerned

> "to heal [the] wounds and to change [the] outlooks" (*S/1996/507, para. 7*)

of the minority inhabitants.

It is becoming clear that the breakdown in the process of negotiating the return of refugees is linked to the desire to legitimize lawlessness and play for time. The houses of refugees who have been persecuted are occupied by criminals as rewards for their crimes. At the same time, a carefully planned and well organized programme is being carried out to limit the international presence in the region.

Things have reached the point where the lives not only of the defenceless and humiliated Georgian population deprived of its rights, but also of United Nations military observers, are being threatened, not to mention their inability to carry out their mandated tasks.

This calculation has turned out to be impeccable. The mining of a great number of areas in the region has provided to those interested in doing so the opportunity to harass the international presence in areas they have selected for terrorism. The population, in a state of constant terror, has in fact lost all hope for or faith in justice. The mining of the territory also has far-ranging consequences, allowing those who are carrying it out to create conditions in which international observers are deprived of first-hand information and in which the thwarting of the international community is planned and premeditated.

We must assume that if, in the future, the opportunity to receive objective information from the area is not reestablished, the number of reports about the Abkhaz militia's carrying out operations to quell resistance, such as those noted in paragraph 32 of the report, or about the banditry and carousal of criminal groups in areas not controlled by the Abkhaz militia, as described in paragraph 26, will continue to grow.

It is not surprising that such a description of the situation leaves us unhappy. Meanwhile, individuals who are well known to everyone are officially incorporated into the law enforcement organs of Abkhazia and have received numerous military decorations for valour, while being officially acknowledged as executioners and torturers of many innocent civilians included in the long list of victims.

It is perfectly obvious that a peaceful settlement and mutual compromise can be attained only on the basis of the good will of both parties to the conflict, as noted in paragraph 56 of the report. But was not this commitment spelled out in Georgia's proposals on the status of Abkhazia in document S/1996/165?

The guarantee of the implementation of these proposals lies in the policy of the Government of Georgia and the firm position of President Eduard Shevardnadze, who has repeatedly reiterated it. His efforts constitute a deterrent to the supporters of chaotic and radical actions. When we speak of the prospects for achieving peace in the region, we must take into account the historic traditions of our peoples who, despite various political developments, have never changed. Only its age-old coexistence with Georgians has enabled the small Abkhaz nation to retain its identity, culture, language and opportunities for development.

The difficult but ultimately inevitable process of Georgia's revival is ineluctably linked to the future of Abkhazia. It is precisely in this connection that the President of Georgia has come up with the idea of creating a special fund to carry out the process of economic reconstruction of the region's infrastructure once the political negotiations are successfully concluded. The Government of Georgia expresses its great hope that this idea will receive broad international support and believes it to be an important incentive for the evolution of the peace process.

Georgia's Government is well aware that both sides bear responsibility for maintaining peace and stability. It is clear, on the other hand, that a true assessment of the parties' positions as reflected in their actions cannot be achieved on the basis of a balanced approach.

In these circumstances, in which the resolutions of the Security Council are ignored and the efforts of international organizations and individual States come to naught, events threaten to take a tragic turn, and the international community's determination will be able to triumph only through enforcement.

My Government cherishes the hope that all possible steps will be taken to expand the participation of the international community in a settlement of the conflict. In our view, it would be useful to send representatives of the Security Council to Georgia to study the situation on the ground. We also express the hope that the Security Council will make use of all means available to it to convince the separatists of the hopelessness of their destructive policy. We also wish to express our certainty that the appropriate international support for a settlement will also be given through the peace-keeping activities of the regional organizations of the CIS.

We believe that higher demands and expanded action are necessary to prevent further escalation of tension and bloodshed.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Georgia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Campbell (Ireland): I am grateful for this opportunity to speak on behalf of the European Union. The following associated countries align themselves with this statement: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia. Iceland and Norway have also aligned themselves with this statement.

This will be the third occasion in the space of six months that the Security Council is considering the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia. It is also, I regret to say, yet another occasion on which we have to note the continued failure of the parties to achieve a comprehensive political settlement. The economic and political consequences of this failure are serious; but it is the human dimension of this stalemate which is a source of particular concern to the European Union.

The scale of this human tragedy is eloquently described in the letter of 6 July 1996 to the President of the Security Council from the President of Georgia. The European Union wishes to express its condemnation of the ethnically motivated killings that have occurred in the region and other related acts of violence. The international community cannot tolerate such barbaric violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms and urges that all steps be taken to arrest the perpetrators of such acts and bring them to justice.

We deeply deplore the obstacles which the Abkhaz authorities have mounted by preventing the early return of refugees and displaced persons. We call on them to take immediate steps, in cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

(UNHCR), to enable all displaced persons and refugees to return freely to their homes under secure conditions and without any linkage to the question of the political status of Abkhazia, Georgia.

The European Union welcomes the programme for the protection and promotion of human rights which will be carried out by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and we look forward to the establishment of an office in Sukhumi. We call on the parties to lend their full cooperation to this important initiative.

The comprehensive report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, shows very clearly that despite the very considerable efforts of the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), insufficient progress has been made in arriving at a mutually acceptable solution to the conflict.

The European Union is especially disappointed that in spite of the very positive gestures which the Government of the Republic of Georgia has made in putting forward a framework for political compromise, no serious response from the other side has been made which would allow meaningful negotiations to take place.

This attitude on the part of the Abkhaz authorities ignores two fundamental principles to which the European Union remains totally committed: first, full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia within its internationally recognized borders; and second, our refusal to allow the valuable work of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and the Commonwealth of Independent States to be undermined by those determined to pursue their own goals without regard for the well-being of their own peoples.

The European Union wishes to express its full support for the efforts which the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, Ambassador Brunner, and his resident Deputy, Mr. Bota, have made to encourage the parties to move towards a political settlement which is both comprehensive and balanced.

We also support the work which the Russian Federation, in its capacity as facilitator, has undertaken to intensify the search for a peaceful settlement to this conflict. We should like to pay tribute to the OSCE, and we welcome the reference that has been made in the draft resolution before the Council today to their collective efforts in a search for a negotiated agreement.

The laying of mines in the Gali region and the deaths which have been caused by them are utterly to be condemned. The consequent severe limitation on the capacity of UNOMIG to move freely in the area, together with the closure of the three team bases that have resulted, are totally unacceptable. The European Union urges the parties to take all necessary measures to prevent the laying of mines. In this regard, we welcome the steps which the Secretary-General has so far taken to arrange for the provision of mine-protected vehicles and some engineering support.

The safety and freedom of movement of the peace-keeping personnel of UNOMIG and the CIS remain of paramount importance, and the fullest cooperation must be provided by all parties to allow them to carry out their mandate in a proper, safe and effective manner.

The European Union looks forward to the resumption of negotiations between the Abkhaz authorities and the Government of Georgia. As the President of Georgia writes in his letter to you, Sir, we must not abandon the course of negotiations. It is only through such negotiations that a lasting solution can be brought to this conflict which has already caused too much human suffering. Only a comprehensive political settlement can guarantee the security of all and lay the foundations for economic and social development in the region.

The European Union would welcome the adoption of this draft resolution today. It is a clear demonstration of the concern of the international community at the continuing stalemate in resolving this question and constitutes an urgent appeal to the parties for every effort to be made to resume early and conclusive negotiations.

The President (*interpretation from French*): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Henze (Germany): Let me begin by saying that Germany fully supports the statement made by the representative of Ireland on behalf of the European Union.

Comparing the situation in Georgia six months ago with the one we are facing now, we find that, as far as the unsolved issue of Abkhazia and the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) operations is concerned, the picture is not encouraging. This is the impression conveyed by the commendable and thorough report by the Secretary-General, for which we would like to thank him. The same point is also made, more strongly, in President Shevardnadze's letter of 6 July 1996 to the President of the Security Council, to which Germany attaches great importance.

It is evident that the contacts between the parties, assisted by the Secretary-General's Special Envoy and by the Russian Federation as facilitator, have so far had no tangible results. It is also worth noting that the Ambassadors of the group of "Friends of Georgia" carried out démarches in Tbilisi and Sukhumi on the basis of the presidential statement of 26 April 1996, and that the response the Ambassadors received in Sukhumi was unsatisfactory.

The reason for this impasse in the political process lies in the uncompromising attitude of the Abkhaz leadership, which insists on separate statehood for Abkhazia. As early as several months ago, the Georgian Government made a substantial, but so far unsuccessful, offer to the Abkhaz side, amounting to the creation of a federal State with far-reaching autonomy for Abkhazia. It is urgent now that the Abkhaz leadership learn to accept that any solution of the conflict must be based on the principles of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia.

Germany sees the rationale of UNOMIG and of the German contribution to it as support for an ongoing political process leading to a durable negotiated solution. We recognize and welcome the valuable and stabilizing role UNOMIG is playing, but this role cannot be to support a mere perpetuation of the political status quo without the prospect of a negotiated settlement. If the current political stalemate continues, the Council, in the future, might therefore be forced to ask itself where a future role for United Nations engagement in this conflict might lie.

Germany deeply deplores the effects of "ethnic cleansing" that the conflict in Abkhazia has brought with it, with the massive expulsion of people, predominantly Georgians, from their living areas, not to mention the deaths of a large number of innocent people. These effects are unacceptable. The Abkhaz side must therefore end without delay its obstruction of the return of refugees and displaced persons to the region. Any linkage of this question with the future status of Abkhazia is unacceptable.

Against this background, we are encouraged by indications both by the Secretary-General and by the Russian Federation as facilitator, of their intention to intensify their political and diplomatic efforts.

I would now like to stress a second major point. My Government continues to be very concerned by the deteriorated security situation which has brought patrolling by UNOMIG virtually to an end. We expect the parties to take forceful measures against the laying of mines, which is a danger not only to UNOMIG personnel and the CIS peacekeeping forces, but also, and most notably, to the local population, as well as to refugees and displaced persons returning to the region. This should include better surveillance of the cease-fire lines and prosecution of those responsible.

Germany welcomes the steps taken so far by the Secretary-General to cope with this threat. We trust that the Secretary-General will do everything in his power to minimize the risk for the United Nations personnel on the ground, and stress the need for continued and close cooperation and coordination between UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping forces in the fulfilment of their respective mandates. Here also, we tend to think that if no improvement is foreseen, there might be reason to take a fresh look at the tasks UNOMIG has been mandated to accomplish.

Let me end by commending the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, Ambassador Brunner, and his resident Deputy, Mr. Bota, for their diplomatic skill and tenacity. The personnel of UNOMIG deserve our full support and all our thanks for their efforts, made under extremely difficult conditions.

Mr. Somavía (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is not pleasant to have to begin an explanation of vote by expressing regret at such a long-standing lack of progress in the region. The Secretary-General's report, which we appreciate, tells us that the peace process between the Georgian and Abkhaz parties is at a standstill. Similar terms were used in previous reports.

We especially regret the fact that the leaders of Abkhazia do not want to understand that the Government and Parliament of Georgia are making a significant effort to seek a solution to the problem, having offered Abkhazia broad autonomy — a situation seldom seen in similar situations. Let us recall that in April the Georgian Parliament approved a resolution that recommended granting to Abkhazia a constitution, a parliament, executive and judicial bodies, an anthem, a flag, a coat of arms and other state attributes, in addition to exclusive areas of competence in economic, social, financial and tax spheres — all in the framework of a unitary federation within the internationally recognized borders of Georgia.

It is for this reason that the draft resolution which we are considering today, and to which we give our firmest support, notes with concern the uncompromising position adopted by the Abkhaz side, and urges the parties — particularly the Abkhaz — to make substantive progress in order to achieve an appropriate political solution.

Of course, the parties must resolve a key issue — the political status of Abkhazia. For this purpose they have available to them the good offices of the Secretary-General through his Special Envoy, the Russian Federation in its capacity as facilitator, and the support of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. We are grateful to all of them for their endeavouring.

We would like to express particular support for the steps taken by the Russian Federation and the role that it is playing in the search for a solution to this conflict. It is in a special position, from which, we are convinced, it will be able to continue to serve the purpose of peace in Georgia. The leaders of Abkhazia must give serious consideration to the possibilities being afforded to the Abkhaz people to live in peace, without losing their national identity, to enjoy great internal jurisdiction, and to be able once and for all, together with all the other inhabitants of Georgia, to work for the development and well-being of the people.

My delegation wishes to thank the personnel of UNOMIG for the valuable role that they are playing in Georgia as we renew the UNOMIG mandate. We thank the Commonwealth of Independent States, the group of "Friends of Georgia", the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Red Cross and all the humanitarian organizations providing assistance in Georgia.

We wish to highlight in particular the work of those organizations that are dealing with the humanitarian situation. As in other conflicts under consideration by the Security Council, their actions are fundamental. For this reason it is important that we remember them and encourage them to continue in spite of present difficulties.

As we reiterate the support of the Chilean delegation for this draft resolution, we wish to point out that it gives due attention to the difficult humanitarian situation in Abkhazia. The draft resolution reaffirms the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes, condemns the ethnically motivated killings and the laying of mines, and supports the development of a programme for the protection and promotion of human rights.

We hope that the parties, and above all the Abkhaz leaders, will take meaningful steps on the basis of this draft resolution. That would be a clear signal to the international community. Let us bear in mind that within three months the Secretary-General will report to us on whether progress has been made in this respect, and at that time the Security Council will again have to turn its attention to the subject and decide what subsequent steps to take. Let us hope that at that time we will have better news.

Mr. Wang Xuexian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation supports the draft resolution before us today. We hope that, upon adoption, it will play a positive role in the settlement of the question of Georgia.

The world is very much concerned about the long absence of a solution to the question of Georgia. The crux of a political settlement of the Georgian question is whether this newly independent Member State will continue to maintain its sovereignty and territorial integrity or will be dismembered. The position of the Security Council on this question is clear: the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia must be fully respected. A comprehensive political settlement of the Georgian question must proceed within this framework.

The Georgian Government, proceeding from the fundamental interests of the Georgian people, of all ethnic groups, has adopted a responsible attitude in promoting a comprehensive settlement of the Georgian question and has put forward constructive proposals, including that of establishing a federal State and granting Abkhazia wide-ranging autonomy. This position has provided a basis for an early settlement of the Georgian question, and we wish to express our appreciation and support for it.

Regrettably, however, the Abkhaz authorities still cling to a rigid position and continue to set obstacles to a political settlement, which has brought the peace process to a standstill. We cannot but express our deep concern over this situation.

No country can be prosperous, with its people living in peace, without ethnic harmony and territorial integrity. Therefore, we urge the parties concerned, particularly the Abkhaz authorities, to adopt a realistic approach and take concrete action to focus on settling the political status of Abkhazia so as to advance the peace process in Georgia and enable the Georgian people, of all ethnic groups, to live and work in peace and contentment at an early date.

The Secretary-General and his Special Envoy have made tremendous efforts for a comprehensive political settlement of the Georgian question, for which we wish to express our support and our thanks. We also believe that the countries concerned in the region, particularly the Russian Federation, can play a unique mediating role, and indeed have already been doing so. The Council should therefore encourage them to continue and increase their efforts to that end.

We have noted that the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and the Commonwealth of Independent States enjoy good cooperation and are together playing a positive role in stabilizing the situation in the region and promoting the peace process in Georgia. Therefore, we support the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the mandate of UNOMIG.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): Just over two years ago, the Georgian Government and the Abkhaz leadership agreed to a cease-fire and appealed to the international community to help them to work for a political settlement. This Council responded by increasing, in both size and scope, the United Nations military observer presence on the ground in Georgia. It also made clear to the parties at that time that it expected them both to work urgently towards a comprehensive political settlement, and that such a settlement would have to respect fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia within its internationally recognized borders.

Since then, the Georgian Government has worked patiently and consistently towards that goal; the Abkhaz leadership has not. The Abkhaz leadership has failed to engage constructively in talks, in spite of Georgian proposals that would entail the widest possible autonomy for the Abkhaz region. It has blocked any significant return of non-Abkhaz refugees. And it has refused to face up to the fact that no country is prepared to contemplate an independent State of Abkhazia. In doing this, the Abkhaz leadership has condemned its own people to an impoverished and uncertain existence.

This Council will shortly extend the current mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) for a further six months. That decision represents the willingness of Council members to continue to commit scarce United Nations resources in the hope the current stalemate in negotiations can be overcome. It also represents the willingness of countries to make military personnel available. As a member of the Friends of the Secretary-General for Georgia, and as a leading contributor of personnel to UNOMIG, we are grateful to the Special Envoy, his Head of Mission and the Chief Military Observer, as well as to the members of UNOMIG, for their work. But UNOMIG must be able to count on the support of the parties, which requested United Nations involvement on the ground. The recent increase in the laying of mines in UNOMIG's area of responsibility is of particular concern, and we look to the parties to do all they can to ensure that such activities cease. We welcome the Secretariat's efforts to redeploy mine-protected vehicles and to provide UNOMIG with a mine detection and clearance capability, and we urge those concerned to work with the Secretariat so that such measures can be implemented as soon as possible. The objective is to work towards the restoration of UNOMIG's operational effectiveness. The presence of the peace-keeping force of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is an important factor in achieving this, and we hope that UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force will continue to develop closer cooperation to this end.

In addition, reconstruction and respect for human rights are key elements in developing stability and allowing the return of normality to the region. In particular, we welcome proposals to implement a programme for the protection and promotion of human rights, and look forward to the Secretary-General's report on arrangements to establish a human rights office in Sukhumi.

We believe that UNOMIG continues to have a valuable role in sustaining the conditions necessary to allow a lasting settlement to emerge. But — and we always say this on these occasions — it is up to the parties, and in particular the Abkhaz leadership, to

demonstrate that they are prepared to work earnestly and constructively towards a settlement. The British Government continues to believe that any such settlement, if it is to be viable, must fully respect Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): Like most of the other intra-State conflicts that have erupted in the wake of the cold war, the current situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, involves an interplay of political, humanitarian and military factors. We believe that the political process is the fundamental determining factor in this conflict and should thus be accorded the highest priority in the quest for a resolution.

In this context, we appreciate and support the efforts made by the Secretary-General, the group of "Friends of Georgia" and, in particular, the Russian Federation as facilitator to promote a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict.

We must agree with the Secretary-General, however, that the international community can only help the parties reach a solution if they are willing to resolve their differences in a spirit of compromise. In this regard, my delegation is of the view that the Georgian Government's proposal to grant Abkhazia far-reaching autonomy within the framework of a unified Georgian State, as outlined in President Shevardnadze's letter dated 6 July 1996, presents a solid foundation upon which to build a comprehensive political settlement.

We also join the other members of the Council in calling upon the Abkhaz side in particular to end the current standstill in the political process and to embrace a more pragmatic and flexible approach to reaching a solution based on the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia within its internationally recognized boundaries.

Paralysis in the political process has also been accompanied by serious humanitarian conditions. Regrettably, the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Abkhazia continues to be obstructed by the Abkhaz side. A reduction is needed in the ongoing criminality and violence that are also deterring the return of refugees and displaced persons, especially in the Gali region. In this regard, we must emphasize that any attempt to tie the return of refugees to the question of Abkhazia's political status is wholly unacceptable.

On the other hand, we are pleased to support the programme for the protection and promotion of human rights in Abkhazia to be implemented by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). We hope to receive the Secretary-General's detailed and timely report on arrangements for the establishment of a human rights office in Sukhumi so that the office can be opened as soon as possible.

On another important matter, land mines appear to pose the greatest obstacle, especially in the sense that they constrain the free movement of the personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). In this vein, as a troop contributor to this peace-keeping operation, my delegation is especially pleased to note that UNOMIG personnel will be provided with both mine-protected vehicles and some engineering support for road-clearing. We also hope that the close and continued cooperation between UNOMIG and the Commonwealth of Independent States peace-keeping force will serve to enhance the safety of UNOMIG personnel.

In the light of all these considerations, my delegation will be pleased to support the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the mandate of UNOMIG until 31 January 1997 by voting in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Finally, we would also like to express our sincere gratitude to Ambassador Brunner, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, and to Mr. Bota, his resident Deputy, as well as to all the personnel under their command for their determined efforts under trying conditions.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): As pointed out in today's European Union statement, to which Poland adhered, this is the third time in the last six months that the Security Council has considered the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia. On the one hand, this shows that the process of resolving differences between the parties to the conflict is particularly difficult and is not bringing the expected results. On the other hand, the frequency of our debates on Georgia proves that there is a great deal of determination among members of the international community to assist that country in every possible way to find a solution to its tragic problems.

This question of the international community's determination — or, more generally speaking, its involvement — arises before this Council rather

frequently. And from our experience as members of the Security Council we know very well that there is a strict interdependence between the will of the parties to a conflict to settle their problems and the will of the international community to become engaged in the process of settlement.

Today, in the case of Georgia, we seem to be at a crossroads. The numerous efforts made by the international community have so far failed to solve the problems. Neither the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe nor the Commonwealth of Independent States has been able to succeed. The initiatives of the Ambassadors of the group of "Friends of Georgia" in Tbilisi have not significantly improved the situation either. Here one cannot question the will and commitment of the community of States. We can, however, question the will and commitment of those involved in the conflict.

In the draft resolution on which we are about to vote, the Security Council expresses its deep concern at the continued failure by the parties to resolve their differences owing to the uncompromising position taken by the Abkhaz side. It should be clearly stated that in situations like this there is no room for uncompromising positions. Instead, flexibility and moderation are required. We appeal to the parties to the conflict, and particularly to the Abkhazians, to demonstrate that their ultimate goal is a peaceful solution of their differences.

Our delegation is of the view that the only solution to the conflict is a comprehensive political settlement, including determination and acceptance of the political status of Abhkazia within the State of Georgia while respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the latter.

We are dismayed to hear that refugees and displaced persons are being barred by the Abkhaz side from returning home. Indeed, today's draft resolution stresses that there should be no linkage of the return of refugees and displaced persons with the question of the political status of Abkhazia. We expect that there will be a significant acceleration in the process of the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons without delay or preconditions, and that a timetable on the basis of that submitted by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will be observed. We must not let demographic changes happen as a result of the conflict.

The continuous threat posed by landmines is very distressing. Tragically, it is becoming a more and more common feature of today's conflicts. That is why we welcome with great appreciation the decision made by the Secretariat to provide the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) with engineering support and adequate demining equipment. At the same time, we condemn the laying of mines, notably in the Gali region. They have already caused several deaths among the civilian population, peace-keepers and international observers. This is unacceptable.

I have already spoken of the determination and commitment of the international community. But let us be realistic. In the light of the lack of cooperation and flexibility of those directly involved and in the light of the increasingly dangerous environment for discharging the peace-keeping mission, the interest of the members of the international community might be fading away.

By all means, we should prevent this. And because there is still a significant chance that the process of a peaceful solution to the conflict in Georgia will end in success, we are in favour of extending the mandate of UNOMIG until the end of January 1997.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution on the extension for six months of the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). It is important in that it reaffirms the dedication of the international community to a political settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia and of ensuring the rights of the multinational people of that country.

We should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, his Special Envoy and the Head of the Mission of UNOMIG for their efforts to promote a settlement to the conflict. We also pay tribute to the personnel of the Mission for their difficult but very necessary work.

Russia is vitally interested in seeing Georgia, which is friendly to us, as a stable, democratic and flourishing country. To this end, it is imperative that there be a speedy settlement of the conflict and the elimination of its consequences. As a facilitator of the negotiating process under the aegis of the United Nations, Russia is carrying out intensive work with the Government of Georgia and with the Abkhaz side aimed at moving forward the peace process, first and foremost with respect to the fundamental principles for future comprehensive agreements.

We are holding active consultations with the Abkhaz leaders, combined with measures to exert strong pressure on the Abkhaz side, in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) of 19 January 1996, in order to give greater flexibility and a constructive nature to the position of Sukhumi.

Another round of contacts with the Abkhaz side is currently taking place in Moscow. We are also working closely with the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Georgia, Ambassador Edouard Brunner. He is awaited in Moscow next week for important consultations. We are counting on the fact that he will also hold substantive talks with the representatives of the sides.

A new and positive factor is the trend toward direct Georgian-Abkhaz dialogue, which some time ago was, in principle, impossible. We welcome and support the initiative of the Special Envoy on the organization, with the assistance of Russia, of a Georgian-Abkhaz meeting, and will do everything possible to promote its success.

We have solid grounds for considering that these efforts are having the required effect on the Abkhaz side. In the Abkhaz leadership, there is increasingly a mood favouring of the search for compromise agreements towards a settlement. At the same time, in the light of the gulf between the sides, there will remain a need for this growing positive inclination to be transformed into concrete, forward steps on the part of the Abkhaz side.

Another subject of growing concern to us is the ongoing deadlock in the question of the organized return of refugees. We expect that a firm demand of the Security Council on this issue will ultimately enjoy a positive reception in Sukhumi.

We are extremely concerned by the deterioration of security conditions in the Gali region of Abkhazia, Georgia, as a result of the increased threat from mines. The indiscriminate laying of mines has already caused casualties and is seriously hampering the implementation by the CIS peace-keepers and the United Nations military observers of their mandates. Urgent and effective measures must be taken to eliminate the widespread danger of mines. We reaffirm Russia's readiness to assist the United Nations in achieving that objective and hope that the United Nations Secretariat will respond concretely to our proposals.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): The Indonesian delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his thorough and informative report concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, submitted pursuant to resolution 1036 (1996). Our appreciation is also extended to the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Ambassador Edouard Brunner, and his Deputy and Head of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), Mr. Liviu Bota, as well as to all the personnel of UNOMIG who have carried out their tasks under difficult conditions.

My delegation is dismayed to note from the report that political negotiations between the parties have not progressed; the core issue — namely, the definition of a political status for Abkhazia — remains unresolved, thus bringing the political process to a standstill. The uncompromising stance of the Abkhaz side has indeed rendered negotiations more difficult. To break the current impasse, there is a clear need for both parties to intensify their efforts, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the assistance of the Russian Federation as facilitator, to achieve an early and comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. Indonesia would like to reaffirm its full support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict based upon respect for Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

Compounding our concern regarding the lack of progress on the political front are the continuing troubles on the ground, including the precarious situation in which internally displaced persons find themselves and the persistent mine threat. The humanitarian situation arising from this conflict remains a source of considerable concern for our delegation. In this regard, my delegation would like to underline the urgent need for all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in secure conditions, in accordance with international law and as set out in the Quadripartite Agreement. We would also like to emphasize the indiscriminate sufferings which have been inflicted upon the civilian population, peace-keepers and international community observers by the laying of mines in the Gali region. This situation must be immediately redressed.

It is therefore a source of satisfaction to my delegation to note the important contribution of UNOMIG and the peace-keeping force of the Commonwealth of Independent States to the alleviation of these serious situations. UNOMIG continues to carry out its mandate in parts of the security and restricted-weapons zones and

in the Kodori valley in an exemplary manner. However, the Mission is unable to operate effectively in other areas, such as the Gali sector, since they have become unstable. The dangers posed to the Mission and the CIS peace-keeping force, as well as to the population of the area, from the persistent mine threat to which we alluded earlier, as well as the lawlessness, including acts of murder, armed robbery, looting, extortion and intimidation, are unacceptable. Our delegation, therefore, would like to underline that it is essential for UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force personnel, as well as the local population, to be granted safety, security and freedom of movement. The fact that even the Abkhaz militia has little control over this region and that the local population is resorting to unofficial "self-defence groups" only underlines, once again, the need to break the stalemate in the negotiations.

Our delegation has noted that UNOMIG is involved in protracted negotiations for the exchange of hostages and that some of these exchanges have been brought to fruition. Also, we are encouraged that the two sides, with the assistance of UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force, are cooperating to solve common problems, such as the fight against criminality, addressing security issues and humanitarian needs, and establishing confidence-building measures.

My delegation cannot fail to commend the cooperation and coordination between UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force in the implementation of their respective mandates that has enabled them to contribute to stabilization in the zone of conflict. The cooperation between UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force has permitted a number of successes in the rapprochement of the parties to the conflict.

In line with our views expressed today, the Indonesian delegation would like fully to support the draft resolution before us. It is our hope that the parties will soon enter constructive and substantial negotiations to bring about a lasting and comprehensive peace.

Mr. Abdel Aziz (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Abkhazia, which emphasizes the sincere efforts being made by his Special Envoy, Ambassador Edouard Brunner, and his resident Deputy, Mr. Bota, to find a solution to the political status of Abkhazia within the Republic of Georgia, with full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia.

Since the Secretary-General's last report, despite the efforts of the Special Envoy, the Russian Federation as facilitator and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to make progress towards a solution to this problem, a political settlement is still not in sight. The Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the OSCE have undertaken positive initiatives, not to mention those of the group of "Friends of Georgia" in May, followed by other *démarches* in June. These have helped to move developments forward by trying to persuade the parties, and in particular the Abkhaz side, that the status quo could not continue. We hope that such initiatives will continue to be launched until a final settlement is achieved.

At the same time, Egypt expresses its deep concern at the continued indiscriminate laying of mines on roads, which has led to changes in the deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and in the nature of operations in the Gali region. Moreover, it endangers Mission personnel and displaced persons, and hampers the work being carried out there. Despite the fact that the United Nations intends to send a group of demining experts and despite the agreement that has been reached, there remains a need for increased demining efforts. These efforts are of particular importance in the light of the United Nations financial crisis, which will not allow the Organization to assume large technical or financial commitments in demining if the laying of mines continues in the future.

That is why we should like to welcome the constructive cooperation that exists between the United Nations Mission and the forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to cope with this important problem, and the implementation by the United Nations of its tasks in all areas.

Egypt shares the concerns of the Secretary-General, as expressed in paragraph 56 of his report, concerning how serious the parties are in the quest for peace. These apprehensions are reaffirmed in the light of the letter from President Shevardnadze addressed to the President of the Security Council.

We are in agreement with the Secretary-General on the financial crisis of the United Nations, which does not allow him to allocate major resources to situations which are making only weak progress. We cannot obligate the United Nations to continue the presence of its troops in such cases.

Egypt supports the establishment of a United Nations office within the framework of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) because of its important role for the protection of human rights. Furthermore, we support the idea that the expenditures for that office should be covered in the United Nations budget for Georgia. We will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Queta (Guinea Bissau) *(interpretation from French)*: The United Nations is making tireless efforts to find a political solution to the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia. The Russian Federation, acting in its capacity as facilitator, is also playing a remarkable role with a view to the accomplishment of the complex task of bringing the parties together and arriving at a settlement to the dispute through peaceful means. My delegation also is pleased to note the dedication with which the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General and his Deputy, as well as the military and civilian personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), are fulfilling the mission entrusted to them by the Security Council. We believe that the parties, and in particular Abkhazia, should avail themselves of the goodwill of the international community in order to overcome their differences and lay the foundations for a lasting peace.

My delegation profoundly regrets the absence of progress in the peace process between Georgia and Abkhazia. We note that the definition of the political status of Abkhazia constitutes the crux of the problem. My delegation believes that this question must be examined in the framework of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia, within its internationally recognized borders.

Furthermore, we are concerned at the fact that the threat of mines continues to affect the Gali sector. The laying of new mines endangers the lives of the population and of international civilian and military personnel. It is urgent that the parties put an end to this practice, which prevents the United Nations Mission from fulfilling its mandate.

My Government reiterates its concern at the slowness of the process of the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons. It considers unacceptable any attempt to place obstacles in the way of the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes. In this context, we condemn ethnically motivated killings and other violations of human rights in the region.

We support the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the mandate of UNOMIG be extended for a further period until 31 January 1997.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Security Council because it is well-balanced and reflects the current situation of the peace process between Georgia and Abkhazia.

Mr. Motswagae (Botswana): My delegation is deeply disturbed by the stalemate in the peace process in Abkhazia, Georgia, which is due primarily to the unwillingness of the Abkhaz side to make concessions on the future status of Abkhazia within the Republic of Georgia. The United Nations and the Russian Federation, as facilitator, have proposed various options for the future status of Abkhazia, but the Abkhaz side has continued to show intransigence by its insistence on a union of two equal States. Botswana supports the draft resolution before us, as it correctly stresses the importance which the international community attaches to preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia.

We are outraged by the continued use of "ethnic cleansing" by the leadership in Abkhazia in its attempt to balkanize the territory of Georgia. A quarter of a million refugees and displaced persons who were forcibly removed from their homes four years ago just because they were of a different ethnic group are still languishing in refugee camps in Abkhazia, because the Abkhaz side puts obstacles in the way of their repatriation by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Furthermore, ethnically motivated acts of murder, armed robbery, looting, extortion and intimidation are the order of the day in the Gali region. It is incredible, to say the least, that people who profess to be national leaders cannot observe the most basic tenets of good governance to guarantee the rights of the multiethnic population in the areas under their control.

I also wish to underline the importance that my delegation attaches to paragraph 10 of the draft resolution. Three UNOMIG bases in the Gali sector have had to suspend their operations because of anti-personnel landmines which litter the roads used by the Mission patrol teams in the sector. We find it inexcusable for UNOMIG to be subjected to this kind of menace by those it is trying to assist in bringing peace to their country. On the question of human rights, it is important for the international community to do all in its power to improve the observance of human rights in Abkhazia. We strongly

believe that it is necessary to establish a human rights office in Sukhumi as a matter of urgency.

Once again, the Council has decided to extend the mandate of UNOMIG. The parties to the conflict in Abkhazia are being given yet another chance, maybe a last chance, to make peace. We urge them not to misuse this opportunity. They should realize that the patience of the international community is not inexhaustible. We urge them to enter into serious dialogue with a view to achieving a political settlement within the mandate period established by the draft resolution. They may never again have the benefit of an environment conducive to peaceful negotiations, since the mandates of UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping forces cannot be extended indefinitely.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy) *(interpretation from French)*: I should like first of all to say that the Italian delegation completely endorses the contents of the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Ireland, Ambassador John Campbell, on behalf of the European Union; we associate ourselves with that statement without reservation.

We thank the Secretary-General for his extremely detailed report on the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, and express our appreciation for the tireless efforts made by his Special Envoy, Ambassador Brunner, and for the contribution to the search for a peaceful settlement of the question by the Russian Federation in its capacity as facilitator, and by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

The report of the Secretary-General indicates very clearly that in spite of the international community's efforts through the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) peace-keeping force, the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, has only worsened over the past few months. The level of violence and intimidation in the Abkhaz region has reached an intolerable point, which prevents the peace-keeping forces from fulfilling their mandate. Italy firmly condemns the use of violence and the ethnically motivated killings and fully shares the view of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which recently declared unacceptable the attempts at demographic modification in the region resulting from the conflict. Likewise, we deplore the obstacles placed by the Abkhaz authorities in the way of the free return of refugees and displaced persons. We urge them to implement existing agreements without further delay.

These violations of international humanitarian law must not go unanswered. We appeal in particular to the Abkhaz side to display moderation, to promote the implementation of the human rights protection programme and to cooperate toward that end with the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and with the OSCE.

Furthermore, we express our grave concern at the negative attitude of the Abkhaz leadership on the aspects related to the future political status of the region. We wish to underscore that it is up to it to make the major efforts to eliminate obstacles to a peaceful settlement of the question, in keeping with the principle of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia, a principle for which we reaffirm our unreserved support.

In this regard, we wish once again to draw attention to the responsible attitude of the Government of Georgia, which has already made a number of good-will gestures to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the conflict, including the submission of a political proposal which appears to us entirely worthy of consideration.

In conclusion, we cannot fail to support the assessment of the Secretary-General that no measure taken by the United Nations can be effective unless the parties, and in particular the Abkhaz side, display the necessary will to cooperate in the search for a solution. This is why we are convinced that the negotiations must continue. We support the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the UNOMIG mandate be renewed until 31 January 1997. Italy will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution, whose contents, we believe, reflect the current status of the question and which clearly delineate the responsibilities in the conflict.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1996/544.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1065 (1996).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States): To our regret, the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, has not improved. The talks are stalled. The Abkhaz are apparently as intransigent as ever. A quarter of a million refugees are still deprived of the comfort of their homes. The threat to the unarmed observers of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) has grown.

Today's resolution addresses these issues. The Security Council has spoken to reaffirm the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia. We have called for the Secretary-General, and the Russian Federation as facilitator, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. Of course, neither the Secretary-General nor the Russian Federation can achieve this goal without the full cooperation and participation of the parties. The parties bear the true burden of making peace.

The resolution reflects the fact that the parties have not displayed equal amounts of flexibility. The Abkhaz leadership acts as if an independent Abkhazia were a possibility. It is not. President Shevardnadze, on the other hand, has made a public offer of broad autonomy for Abkhazia. In his recent letter to the Security Council President, he reiterated this offer and noted that this broad autonomy could include a parliament and a supreme court, as well as such attributes of statehood as a flag, an emblem and an anthem. We understand that the Abkhaz leader Ardzinba is currently in Moscow and will meet next week with the Secretary-General's Special Envoy. We appeal to him to listen carefully to Ambassador Brunner and to engage in a meaningful and flexible way with the Georgian side.

In the meantime, UNOMIG personnel, as well as others in the Gali region, are facing a grave threat from landmines. This threat is evidence that some elements in the region want only to perpetuate violence and conflict. The resolution adopted today condemns these actions and calls upon the parties to take all measures to prevent mine laying. The United States supports the Secretariat's approach to this threat, as outlined in the Secretary-General's report, and we encourage the implementation of these measures as soon as possible. We also think that the these measures should not be considered exhaustive and that the Secretariat should continue to look at other modes of reacting to the landmine threat.

The resolution refers to the conclusions of the Budapest summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). CSCE participating States

> "expressed their deep concern over 'ethnic cleansing', the massive expulsion of people, predominantly Georgian, from their living areas and the deaths of large numbers of innocent civilians". *(S/1994/1435, annex, part II)*

These horrors must not be repeated.

The United States firmly supports the proposal for the programme for the protection and promotion of human rights in Abkhazia, to be carried out by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in cooperation with the OSCE. Today's resolution calls on the Secretary-General to report to the Council by 15 August on possible arrangements for opening the office in Sukhumi. Agreement to this centre from both sides represents a first step in breaking down the barriers of mistrust and hatred that have arisen between them. The United States delegation expects that the Secretary-General and other members of the Council will seriously consider financing the office through voluntary contributions rather than adding the financial and administrative burden of funding the office to UNOMIG's responsibilities. We expect to be able to make a substantial voluntary contribution to the office and ask other Member States to do likewise.

The United States shares the Secretary-General's observation, as expressed in his report of 1 July 1996, that he, as executor of the international community's will,

> "cannot continue to request resources for peacemaking and peace-keeping in situations where there is little prospect of making progress". *(S/1996/507, para. 56)*

As he further noted,

> "it is only the parties that can establish peace, and they must do it through dialogue and mutual accommodation". *(Ibid.)*

The time for that is now. The parties must demonstrate the necessary will to cooperate. If they do not, and if the status quo continues for another six months, they must face the possibility that the international community will take an even closer look at whether UNOMIG belongs in Georgia.

The United States again urges all parties to the conflict in Georgia to cooperate fully with UNOMIG, cease destructive acts such as mine laying, and make a concerted effort towards resolving peacefully their differences. Only in this way can UNOMIG successfully carry out its responsibilities.

Finally, may I express my delegation's great appreciation for the dedicated service of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Mr. Brunner, the Deputy Special Envoy, Mr. Bota, and all the personnel of UNOMIG.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras)(*interpretation from Spanish*): The Secretary-General's report of 1 July 1996 on the situation in Abkhazia indicates that, in general, there has been no progress in the political negotiations between Georgia and Abkhazia and that the peace process remains at a standstill. The parties have not yet resolved their differences to achieve a prompt solution to the conflict, including the political status of Abkhazia within the State of Georgia, with respect for Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In the light of this situation, Honduras believes that it is necessary for the international community to intensify its efforts to promote political dialogue between the parties, so that they may achieve a broad agreement on those aspects necessary to move the peace process forward — that is, the safe return to their homes of refugees and displaced persons, in accordance with international law and as established in the Quadripartite Agreement of 4 April 1994, and an agreement on a special status for Abkhazia, while maintaining the territorial integrity of Georgia.

For this reason, we urge the parties, especially the Abkhaz party, to make progress towards a political solution of the conflict, to cooperate with the steps being taken in this respect by the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Russian Federation as facilitator, and to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions.

With regard to the humanitarian situation in Abkhazia, we are pleased that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), in cooperation with non-governmental organizations, has begun three projects in the Gali region to promote the reintegration of people who have returned to their places of origin, and that consultations are under way for the implementation of the programme for the protection and promotion of human rights, which has been accepted by the parties, and which will undoubtedly improve the observance of human rights in Abkhazia.

In spite of the insecurity and instability prevailing in the Gali region, and despite the threat posed by mines to the safety and security of the personnel of the Observer Mission and its activities, the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) continues to fulfil its mandate and is cooperating satisfactorily with the peace-keeping force of the Commonwealth of Independent States and with UNHCR. As the Secretary-General's report so rightly emphasized, the threat of mines is grave. It is not confined to a single region, and could have serious consequences when the repatriation of refugees and internally displaced persons resumes. In this respect, we urge the parties to prevent the laying of mines and to cooperate fully with UNOMIG.

My delegation believes that while the peace process is being reactivated through dialogue and mutual concessions by the parties, the presence of the Mission remains necessary. That is why we voted in favour of the resolution extending its mandate. We hope that the parties will show their desire for peace through the adoption of concrete measures leading to a political solution to the Abkhaz conflict.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of France.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1065 (1996) extending the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), the Council intends solemnly to send a political message to the parties, and especially to the Abkhaz party.

Political negotiations must be urgently resumed. The Government of Georgia has made generous offers that would allow Abkhazia to enjoy very broad political autonomy. It is now necessary for the officials in Sukhumi to accept the necessary compromises for the good of the Abkhaz people. In particular, they must renounce any separatist delusions. The future of Abkhazia lies within Georgia, and the international community will not support a settlement which does not fully respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia.

The obstacles to the return of refugees and displaced persons must be removed. The conclusion of political negotiations cannot be a prerequisite for this. By signing the Moscow Quadripartite Agreement, the Abkhaz party made a solemn commitment, which it must honour without delay or preconditions. In this respect, the development of the situation in the Gali region will test the seriousness of the Abkhaz representatives. Continued refusal to cooperate on this issue could only lead the international community to condemn in the harshest terms what would be tantamount to a deliberate policy of "ethnic cleansing".

The deterioration of security conditions both for the local population and for international personnel is another subject for concern. The laying of mines in the Gali region constitutes a terrorist act. The parties must take all possible measures to prevent this and to arrest the perpetrators. This is a pivotal issue which puts the credibility of the parties at stake. In the meantime, France will give its full support to the measures taken by the Secretary-General, and to those which he plans to take to ensure the protection of UNOMIG personnel.

France also fully supports measures to assist the parties in making progress in political negotiations. This is the object of the programme of human rights monitoring in Abkhazia, which is an important confidence-building measure, and which must be implemented as quickly as possible. This is also the purpose of the report which the Secretary-General has been requested to make on ways to provide technical and financial assistance for the reconstruction of Abkhazia once a political settlement has been reached.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3680/Corr.1

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3680th Meeting

Friday, 12 July 1996, 10.45 a.m.

New York

Corrigendum

Page 4, second column

The fourth paragraph should read as follows:

Mr. Campbell (Ireland): I am grateful for this opportunity to speak on behalf of the European Union. The following associated countries align themselves with this statement: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia. Iceland and Norway have also aligned themselves with this statement.

96-85993 (E)

United Nations S/PV.3681

Security Council
Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3681st Meeting
Monday, 15 July 1996, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Dejammet	(France)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Egypt	Mr. Awaad
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Suazo Fernández
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Menzione
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Choi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1038 (1996) (S/1996/5[illegible]d Add.1)

96-85936 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1038 (1996) (S/1996/502 and Add.1)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1038 (1996), documents S/1996/502 and Addendum 1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/545, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1996/545) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1066 (1996).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3682

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3682nd Meeting
Wednesday, 24 July 1996, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Dejammet	(France)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavia
	China	Mr. He Yafei
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	Germany	Mr. Ertel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martinez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Thayeb
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Choi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

Letter dated 22 July 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/591)

96-86021 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Expression of sympathy in connection with the loss of flight TWA 800

The President (*interpretation from French*): At the outset of the meeting, I should like, on behalf of the Security Council, to express deep sympathy to the Government and people of the United States and to the Governments and peoples of the other countries whose citizens lost their lives as a result of the air disaster concerning flight TWA 800.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

Letter dated 22 July 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/591)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Burundi in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Hajayandi (Burundi) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1996/591, which contains the text of a letter dated 22 July 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is gravely concerned at recent information on political developments in Burundi. It strongly condemns any attempt to overthrow the present legitimate Government by force or *coup d'etat*.

"The Security Council takes note of the letter dated 22 July 1996 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Council (S/1996/591). The Council condemns the massacres of civilians including that of more than 300 women, children and elderly men in Bugendana commune in Gitega province. The Council calls upon all parties to the conflict in Burundi to cease immediately any acts of violence and to cooperate fully with all those who are seeking to bring an end to the vicious cycle of violence. The Council urges all parties to exercise restraint and requests the Burundi authorities to conduct a proper investigation of the massacre.

"The Security Council once again urges the authorities and all parties concerned in Burundi to set aside their differences, renounce the use of force and demonstrate a firm political will for the prompt settlement of the conflict.

"The Security Council deplores the recent forced repatriation of Rwandan refugees from refugee camps in Kibezi and Ruvumu and calls upon the Government of Burundi to honour its obligations under the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951, and to desist from further refoulement of refugees. The Council is also concerned at reports of Rwandan cooperation in the forced repatriation process.

"The Security Council supports the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and urges all parties to work with UNHCR to ensure that the rights of refugees are respected. The Council calls upon the international community to respond favourably to the recent appeal to fund their activities in the region.

"The Security Council stresses its full support for the efforts of former President Nyerere including the agreements of the Arusha Regional Summit of 25 June 1996 (S/1996/557), and welcomes the full support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for these agreements. The Council supports also the acceptance by the Arusha Regional Summit of the request by the Government of Burundi for security assistance in order to complement and reinforce the Mwanza peace talks as well as for creating conducive security conditions for all parties to participate freely in the Mwanza process. The Council encourages all parties to work in a constructive manner with former President Nyerere. It urges the Government of Burundi to grant permission to the International Technical Committee, established at the Arusha Summit, to enter the country in order to work out the logistics of the regional peace plan.

"The Security Council emphasizes the importance of the continued cooperation of the United Nations with the OAU, the European Union, the United States, and other interested countries and organizations in coordination with former President Nyerere, aimed at achieving a comprehensive political dialogue between the parties in Burundi. In this regard, the Council expresses its support for the efforts of the OAU and its observer mission (MIOB) and welcomes the extension of the mandate of MIOB.

"The Security Council reiterates the importance it attaches to the contingency planning called for in paragraph 13 of resolution 1049 (1996), and notes the consultations which have already taken place. In the light of recent developments, it requests the Secretary-General and Member States concerned to continue to facilitate contingency planning for a rapid humanitarian response in the event of widespread violence or a serious deterioration in the humanitarian situation in Burundi.

"The Security Council reminds all Burundian parties of their responsibilities for restoring peace and stability in Burundi, and underlines its commitment to follow events in Burundi closely and recalls its readiness, as set out in resolution 1040 (1996), to consider the adoption of further measures should the parties fail to demonstrate the necessary political will for a peaceful solution to the crisis. The Council will remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1996/31.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3683

Security Council
Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3683rd Meeting
Friday, 26 July 1996, 3 p.m.
New York

President	Mr. Dejammet	(France)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Włosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Choi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gorelik
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

Shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996

Note by the Secretary-General (S/1996/509)

96-86052 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996

Note by the Secretary-General (S/1996/509)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Colombia, Cuba, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Alarcón de Quesada (Cuba) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. García (Colombia), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic) and Mr. Ngo Quang Xuan (Viet Nam) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the note by the Secretary-General dated 1 July 1996 (S/1996/509), transmitting the letter dated 28 June 1996 from the President of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/596, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1996/152, letter dated 1 March 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1996/154, 370, 448, 449, 458, 470, 498, 499, 520, 525, 532, 570 and 577, which contain letters dated 1 March, 22 May, 18, 18, 21, 25, 28 and 28 June, 2, 3, 4, 16 and 17 July 1996, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): We meet today to consider a matter of grave concern to my country, to members of this Council and to all who care about the safety of those engaged in civil aviation around the world.

The issue before us is not the United States versus Cuba. It does not require that Council members make a judgement about the repressive nature of Cuba's Government or about the rights and wrongs of the past 35 years of United States-Cuban relations. The draft resolution deals, instead, with a fundamental question of international law and with the observance or non-observance of international standards.

It is for this reason that the draft resolution condemns the cowardly and cold-blooded shootdown by Cuba on 24 February of two unarmed civilian aircraft operated by Brothers to the Rescue and declares that shootdown to be a violation of international law. The draft resolution also extends to the families of those who were killed the Council's deepest sympathy and condolences. I thank those of my colleagues who met with the family members of those killed on 24 February and who can better appreciate the human dimension of this tragedy. The draft resolution also demands that all nations, specifically including Cuba, abide in the future by international legal standards governing civil aviation.

Months ago, in the aftermath of the shootdowns, representatives of the United States and Cuba each set out a version of the events that took place on 24 February. In key respects, those accounts differed. To resolve the differences, each Government pledged to cooperate fully with an investigation to be conducted by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). Inherent in the pledge of each was an obligation to accept the outcome of that investigation. The United States does accept the outcome of that investigation. Indeed, we believe that it provides an accurate account of the facts.

Those facts are clear. The Cuban military first identified these two unarmed Cessna planes as civil aircraft and then knowingly and intentionally destroyed them with air-to-air missiles. The Cubans did not follow

ICAO standards or their own published procedures for intercepting aircraft. The Cubans did not attempt to make radio contact with either plane, nor did they instruct the planes to land at a designated location. Finally, according to the most reliable position estimates, the aircraft were destroyed approximately 9 to 10 miles outside Cuban airspace.

By its actions, Cuba violated the principle of customary international law that States must refrain from resorting to the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight — a principle that applies whether the aircraft are in national or international airspace. Cuba violated the ICAO principle that interception of civil aircraft should be undertaken only as a last resort. Cuba failed to follow proper warning procedures. And, as the ICAO noted in its own resolution on 27 June, by taking the lives of four of my countrymen — Pablo Morales, Carlos Costa, Mario de la Peña and Armando Alejandre — Cuba violated elementary considerations of humanity.

Although the draft resolution before us today is prompted by a tragedy that occurred five months ago, its greatest value relates to the future. This Council's primary mission is to maintain international peace and security. The draft resolution serves that goal by calling upon all nations to refrain from shooting down civil aircraft in violation of international legal standards.

But the Government of Cuba still refuses to acknowledge the unlawful nature of its actions on 24 February. It has not expressed regret at the death of the four men who were killed, or evidenced sympathy for the irreplaceable loss felt by their families. And it continues to threaten that it may shoot down civil aircraft again.

Quite frankly, Cuba's position has been callous and contemptible. They shoot down civil aircraft and then blame the victims. They call for an investigation and then blame the investigators. They are the aggressors in this case and yet claim they are being persecuted. They are consistent only in their refusal to admit the truth and their determination to lie to the world over and over again.

Clearly, the Government of Cuba has not met or accepted its responsibility to comply with the Chicago Convention and customary international law, which set out the standards of international behaviour with respect to civil aviation. In contrast, my Government does accept its responsibilities, both generally and with respect to the control of United States aircraft.

Well prior to 24 February, we issued warnings and notices urging United States airmen not to enter Cuban airspace without authorization. When the pilot of a United States-registered civil aircraft overflew Havana last July, we moved to suspend his license to fly.

All along, we have asked the Cuban Government for information concerning alleged intrusions into its airspace, and we have kept Cuba apprised of our actions. And Cuba has previously acknowledged our efforts and cooperation in this regard.

As I said at the beginning of my remarks, this is not an issue of the United States versus Cuba. The people of every nation are vulnerable to lawless acts, be they acts of terrorism or acts committed intentionally by Governments in violation of international law. The very purpose of the Security Council is to help protect the people of all nations against such acts. We are here to protect international security and peace.

As far as I am concerned, what the Cuban military did on 24 February was a crime and no excuse, no rationalization and no finger-pointing by the Cuban Government can change that judgement. If we were to allow such acts to occur without expressing our condemnation, we would not be meeting our responsibility to the international community. If we were to remain silent in the face of Cuba's continued threat to shoot down civil aircraft in flight, we would invite a repetition of this tragedy. If we were not to insist that all countries meet their obligations concerning civil aviation, we would put at risk the lives of all people who travel by air.

In recent weeks, we have seen and heard a great deal about the anguish that the loss of a loved one in an aeroplane crash can cause. In some cases, we know that the tragedy is caused by mechanical shortcomings which we can address. In other cases, we do not know the cause and there is little we can do. In this case, we know the cause and we know that the remedy is to accept and adhere to the rule of law.

That is all that we demand of Cuba. And that is the standard we must always demand of each other and of ourselves.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the President of the National Assembly of People's Power of the Republic of Cuba, His Excellency

Mr. Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada, whom I welcome and on whom I now call

Mr. Alarcón de Quesada (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, allow me to express my satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the Council's work this month. I wish to thank you for your words of welcome and for the courtesy you have extended me during the time in which we have been in contact as we prepared for this meeting of the Security Council.

I also wish to express my thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Elaraby, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude for his cooperation last month.

It was also on a July afternoon — according to the story, on a day warmer than today — when little Alice heard a clear-cut, inexplicable warning from the Queen:

(spoke in English)

"'No, no!' said the Queen. 'Sentence first — verdict afterwards'". *(Carroll, Alice in Wonderland, chap. XII)*

(spoke in Spanish)

That message has dominated attempts made by the United States of America since February to manipulate information and falsify data to make it practically impossible, or at least as difficult as it could be, to analyse the 24 February incident and the circumstances and conditions that produced it. That effort has been accompanied by an intense publicity campaign seeking to pass sentence in advance, just as everything possible was done to prevent the truth from becoming clear.

Out of respect for the members of this body and for all of the representatives to this Organization who are not members of the Council, but to whom the Council must answer, I would like to clarify several issues. In the spirit of issuing the sentence "sentence first, verdict afterwards", this Council was convened hastily in February. A presidential statement was adopted in which the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) was asked to examine this incident and to present its conclusions to the Council, with the Council's promise that it would consider them without delay.

The Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) met in Montreal on 6 March and adopted a resolution asking its Secretary General to conduct an investigation and submit the results 60 days thereafter. On 6 May 1996 — 60 days later — the Council of the ICAO met to examine this document, the provisional report on the progress of the investigation regarding the shooting-down, and so forth. This report shows that on 19 March — 13 days after the Council of the ICAO adopted its resolution regarding the investigation — the same communication was sent to the Government of the United States of America and to the Government of the Republic of Cuba. It was accompanied by a list of requests for information from the relevant authorities, and of requests for action to be taken, in the United States or in Cuba, with a view to the preparation of a report. In that same communication, a request was made for the relevant authorization to visit the two countries to allow the work to proceed.

The Republic of Cuba responded immediately to this communication by inviting the ICAO investigation team to visit Cuba whenever they wished. The team arrived in Havana on 24 March 1996, five days after that communication was sent.

The provisional report says that on 30 March 1996 the Cuban authorities had completely responded to all the requests made by the team. This is followed by an account of all the requests made, with which Cuba had complied by 30 March 1996. The preliminary report also states that the ICAO investigation team visited Washington between 2 and 4 April. It returned to Montreal, and then went back to the United States — to Miami, Florida, where the team remained from 14 to 19 April. The investigators do not say anywhere in the report — and they would not be able to do so — that the United States was in full compliance with their requests, as Cuba had been.

Paragraph 3.2.4, page 4, of the 6 May provisional report of the ICAO also states that further contacts and talks were being held with regard to the submission, *inter alia*, of information that it proceeds to list. I shall not read this out, as it is almost a full page long. I shall merely highlight the issues to which, by 19 April the United States had not responded: transcriptions of communications from land control — this refers to the interceptor planes. On 6 May the ICAO said that it was still awaiting submission by the United States of the transcription of communications between land control and the interceptor planes. For anyone who wishes to see them, our delegation has copies of these transmissions, which the Permanent Mission of the United States of America to the United Nations distributed in New York, in this very building, to the press of this country on 27

February. None the less, on 6 May that information had not been submitted to the ICAO investigators. We will subsequently be able to consider why that was so.

The list of information to be provided by the Government of the United States continues: radar data from the customs coordinations centre of the United States; radar data from the incident registered by the Caribbean regional centre in southern Florida; radar data from the Miami ARTCC and air force installations in Florida; radar data recorded by United States navy air traffic control in Key West; radar trace of a plane that was north of the 24th parallel on that date; and information on the degree of observance of measures adopted regarding prior incursions into Cuban airspace.

As members can see, ICAO had set a certain date for receipt and consideration of the investigation report, but when that date passed, it had to indicate that it had not yet received from the United States of America the transcriptions of radio communications, or any radar data, or any information on measures adopted regarding earlier violations of Cuban airspace, in spite of the fact that it had been said, and has been repeated, that measures in fact had been taken before 24 February.

As a result of that situation, on 6 May, the Council of ICAO had to agree to extend the investigation deadline by an additional month, and it asked its team to continue to work. In other words, they had to continue to wait for the United States to provide this basic data, which one presumes should have existed since February, and the ICAO Council had to delay its meeting until 6 June. On 6 June, the only thing the ICAO Council could do was to defer once again its consideration of the report, which had not yet been completed because they had not yet received all the information which they were awaiting from the United States side. The Council therefore had to delay this until the very last week of its session. The session even had to be extended one more week to accommodate the situation, to see whether it would be possible at last to obtain United States cooperation. On the very eve of the closing of the most recent session of the ICAO Council, that body was finally able to fulfil the Security Council's request to examine and report on this incident.

Something strange happened. If the ICAO Council met on 26 June, many members of the Security Council were probably able to read in the United States media as early as 20 June what the United States had already determined was going to be the conclusion of the Council's consideration of the report, which in fact it did not yet possess. And on 20 June, no less than the Under-Secretary of State of the United States, speaking from nowhere less than the White House, distributed to anyone who might be interested a text of what it was assumed would be the investigation team's final report — which no one in Montreal had yet received — and indicated to the media in advance what, in his view, was going to be the decision of the United Nations:

(spoke in English)

"Sentence first — verdict afterwards".

(spoke in Spanish)

That weekend the members of the ICAO Council finally received the investigation team's report, and were able to discuss it on 26 and 27 June. As a result, it was agreed to send the resolution before the Council, which was the result of discussion among the members of that specialized agency of the United Nations. The ICAO Council declined, and not on a whim, to endorse the investigation team's report; it was no coincidence that it refused to endorse it, but simply transmitted it to this principal organ of the United Nations, as what the President of the Council of ICAO defined the collective ruling, the collective view of the States members of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, as reflected in the resolution the Security Council has received, and not in any other document.

However, as many Members of the United Nations, albeit not Security Council members or members of the ICAO Council, may be interested in knowing something about the reasons why the investigation developed in this way, why the report to the Council of ICAO was made in the way that it was, and why that Council reached the decision to which I have already referred, I would like to comment on at least a few of the central points relating to the allegedly proven data which I referred to at the beginning of this statement.

I would invite Security Council members to look at page 77 of the investigation team's report. They will see there how the members of the team explain how they analysed the question of the place where the incidence occurred and the elements they used to calculate or estimate that location. In paragraph 2.3.7.3, they explain they arrive at it by means of a combination of:

> "the communications recording provided by the United States", *(S/1996/509, annex, appendix B)*

which was disclosed here in February but which there was concealed until May,

> "in particular the reference to a large passenger ship and a fishing boat". *(Ibid.)*

The investigators add that those three elements

> "supported the view that the shoot-downs occurred near those vessels". *(Ibid.)*

The following paragraph states that

> "Eyewitness accounts obtained from the *Majesty of the Seas* and the *Tri-Liner* were mutually supportive" and that "the position of the *Tri-Liner* relative to the *Majesty of the Seas*, and the resulting estimated locations of the shoot-downs could therefore be considered to be the most reliable position estimates." *(para. 2.3.7.4)*

Three basic elements — radio communications; eyewitnesses from vessels, or, to be more specific, one vessel, *Majesty of the Seas*, and an alleged fishing boat which allegedly would have been in the area; and the combination, the mutual relationship between the location of those two vessels — together with the radio communication would allow for the most reliable estimate. Allow me to indicate some important issues relating to those three elements. As I said, we shall be distributing a document, distributed by the Permanent Mission of the United States of America on 27 February, distributed here in this City of New York, here in this United Nations building, with this peculiar warning on each page of the document:

(spoke in English)

> "This is the authoritative version of these transcripts as of 12.00, 27 February 1996. Destroy all others."

(spoke in Spanish)

Perhaps that version too was destroyed, because one need only look at the ICAO report to see that what was submitted to ICAO was a transcript, supposedly as official as this earlier one provided by the United States, but with six minutes missing. The first six minutes of the radio communication, which are present in the February document, have disappeared in May when at last the information is generously handed over to the investigation team. And it happens that those six minutes relate specifically to the location of the aircraft that penetrated Cuban airspace and to the location of the vessel *Majesty of the Seas*.

There is mention of eye-witnesses from the *Majesty of the Seas* and the *Tri-Liner*. I invite members of the Council to consider the text of the report carefully. Indeed, it would be extremely useful to examine the verbatim record of the meeting of the Council of ICAO at which the information I am speaking of was discussed at considerable length. Nowhere, either in the preliminary report of May or the final report of June, is there any reference to the investigation team having directly, personally interviewed any witness from either vessel, the *Majesty of the Seas* or the alleged United States fishing boat, supposedly named *Tri-Liner*. The investigators say that when they went to Miami in April, they spoke with individuals from an aircraft involved in the incident. At the ICAO Council meeting, Mr. Frostell, the head of the investigation team appointed by the ICAO secretariat, indicated that they had not spoken with any member of the *Tri-Liner* crew and that they had not visited that vessel.

Hence, there has not even been any proof of the very existence of the alleged fishing boat supposedly known as the *Tri-Liner*. Yet in the portions to which I have referred, the report makes use of the versions provided by so-called eye-witnesses from that fishing boat to establish its position in relation to the *Majesty of the Seas* — whose existence no one denies — to attempt to estimate the possible location of the downing.

To make matters even more obvious — since the questionable situation faced by the team is so clear from this portion of the report and from its conclusions — they state that they were unable to provide independent proof of the location of the *Majesty of the Seas*.

With regard to the communications recording, I wish to point out something which is contained in the report and which was the subject of considerable discussion at the ICAO Council meeting: the mystery of this document — far from being made clear through the efforts of the investigation team — became increasingly complicated in the course of the investigation. I refer here to the February version; the May version of the recording was not actually submitted by the United States to the ICAO secretariat. They state clearly that in May they had the opportunity to listen to what the United States said was a recording of these radio communications, which were subsequently transcribed

The transcription clearly demonstrates the difference from what had earlier been transcribed and distributed in February: six minutes had been eliminated, plus other, less important, differences between the two United States versions.

As to Cuba, the report states that by 30 March Cuba had submitted not only its radar data but also its radio communications. It had also made it possible for the team to interview any witnesses it wanted. We also submitted to them the original tape on which the Cuban side had recorded these radio communications. In addition, we submitted the equipment that had been used to make those tape recordings.

It is now July. The ICAO investigation is over; the discussions in Montreal are over; the Security Council is about to conclude its work; and the ICAO investigation team is not able to change what it said in Montreal and what is stated in the report: that, from the United States side, they listened to — merely listened to — a cassette, inserted into a tape player in the presence of representatives of the Government of the United States, who were, as the report tells us, the custodians of that cassette. Given that, as even the United States indicates, what they were permitted to hear in May was clearly different from what existed in February — that the transcription was lacking six minutes — I do not see why we should have any greater confidence in other parts of the version which the investigators were only permitted to hear, the original tape of which was never submitted by the United States Government.

Those are the ins and outs of the radio communications. As to eye-witnesses, I have already indicated what the report itself says. The radar situation is no less interesting: two months after an incident occurred, the United States authorities were not yet in a position to provide any data from any of their radars, despite the fact that, as the report itself indicates, the United States authorities had been warned a day in advance, on 23 February, that on 24 February there would be a flight or flights that should be properly tracked and logged by all radar installations.

Paragraph 2.2.2 of the report says that in the early afternoon of 13 February — 13 February, 11 days earlier — the Department of State's Office of Cuban Affairs contacted the FAA's Office of International Aviation Office, informing it that something might occur in connection with these flights and that they should be alerted. The following paragraph says that on 23 February, the various United States communications control centres received instructions — warnings — from the authorities to the effect that certain flights that were to take place the next day should be appropriately documented.

In spite of this, not a single one of these installations was in a position to provide any data whatsoever by 19 April, when the investigation team went to the United States. According to the report, on 21 May meetings were held anyway in Montreal between representatives of the Government of the United States and the investigation team to see if the team might at last be able to obtain the remaining data. Council members can look in the introduction to the report and see — and I will read the paragraph word for word — that it says:

> "Additional information was requested, and was provided on 21 May 1996 by the authorities in the United States regarding the mission of the P-3 Orion aircraft, and radar data from Naval Air Station at Key West, CARIBROC and NORAD's SEAD sector". (*S/1996/509, annex, appendix B, para. 12*)

The report goes on to explain exactly what was submitted as regards the radar data of the Key West Naval Air Station. What was submitted was the 21 May news that the Key West installation had erased its radar data, had eliminated it, and that it had done so within 15 days of the incident, around 6 March — almost immediately after the staff of that installation was advised that an investigation was being conducted and that someone would be coming to ask for that specific data. I do understand why even information as categorical as the elimination of data was not made known to the investigation team until 21 May.

The United States should explain the level of care and seriousness used in the work of their federal agencies, since despite being warned by Washington that a flight should be recorded because there might be an incident on it, and then, once the incident had taken place at exactly the installation closest to where the events occurred, the one that was involved in the incident — because one can see in the report that planes have to fly over Key West and could possibly land there at any given time — simply erased its data. Furthermore, as the report states, no United States radar data proved useful in describing the final minutes of that flight, that is to say, the final minutes of the incident.

It does not seem to me difficult to understand the way in which the United States handled the data and the information that it was obliged to provide, the way in which it manipulated or concealed the information, the way in which it adulterated the radio communications, the way in which it did not facilitate contact by the investigators with the supposed witnesses of the supposed fishing boat that supposedly was in the area, but that no one saw and with whose crew members no one spoke — all this in order to be able to claim that the incident took place somewhere other than where it actually did — in other words, to present the case as if it were a question of destruction over international waters and not, as was the case, well within the territory of the Republic of Cuba.

Furthermore, the United States delegation is trying to persist in that same effort at manipulation and confusion as regards the supposedly civilian nature of the aircraft involved. I must make a few clarifications in this respect. I do not believe I can improve upon what ICAO itself believes should be the criteria for deciding if an aircraft has civil status or not. As is stated in an ICAO secretariat document, prepared at the request of its Council precisely to help make this fundamental issue as clear as possible:

> "The use of the aircraft in question is the determining factor" — I repeat: the use of the aircraft in question is the determining criterion — "and not other factors such as the registration and the markings on the aircraft ..."

In other words, the first question would have to be, what was the use of the aircraft involved in the incident of 24 February? That needs to be defined before trying to apply to them the legitimate concern for the protection and development of international civil aviation, as the United States side arbitrarily insists on doing. Neither their use nor their mission related to the transport of passengers, mail or cargo; they had nothing to do with international civil aviation and a great deal to do with its abuse, a great deal to do with putting at risk the thousands of aircraft that truly are of a civil nature — most of them United States aircraft — that have the right to navigate that airspace, that have full cooperation from Cuba for that purpose, and that should have the due attention of the United States authorities.

These authorities should be concerned with true civil aviation and with seeing that there is no abuse in that area, because their own aircraft are the ones that use the airspace the most and their nationals are the ones who fly through there — hundreds of thousands of passengers a year, all enjoying the technical aid and cooperation of Cuban authorities. There has never, ever been a single incident involving a United States civil aircraft, out of the hundreds that pass each day through these corridors linking Cuba with the United States.

It should be the principal concern of the United States Government - especially now, but at all times as well - to see to it that nothing violates, endangers or distorts genuinely civilian international communications in this zone, so near to its territory.

I have spoken of the aircrafts' mission, but more than this is at issue. All the aeroplanes used by the group responsible for the 24 February flights are of a single model, the Cessna 337. But, as anyone who is at all familiar with the subject of aviation knows, this Cessna model, and no other, happens to have a dual-purpose design: civil and military. If anyone interested in aviation should look through *Jane's All The World's Aircraft*, a fairly widespread publication, they will find in any of its editions a description of the Cessna 337 — or, according to its United States Air Force designation, the O2. It is known as the 337 when it is used to carry passengers, cargo or mail, and as the O2 when used by the United States military in Viet Nam and Central America. In other words, it is a plane designed and developed equally for tasks or missions of a military nature. You can find a similar description in any United States military aviation handbook, in which the O2 is nowhere referred to as a civilian aircraft but only as one of the models that is used for certain military tasks, as it has been by the United States Government. The mission that was being carried out had nothing to do with international civil aviation; the equipment used can also have military purposes according to the United States' own handbooks.

But there is more. Three years ago and earlier, in 1992 and 1993, in Miami, a United States Congresswoman from Florida organized a major campaign to petition the Pentagon to provide several Cessna 337s or O2s to the group that participated in the incident of 24 February. She was very explicit and active, making many statements and taking a number of initiatives. It would seem that she was successful, because on 19 July of that year the *Miami Herald* published a report on its editorial page, written not by just any journalist but by Mr. David Lawrence, the editor of the *Herald*.

In this account, Mr. Lawrence tells us of a trip he took with the group known as Brothers to the Rescue, the

group in question. Like any good journalist, he accompanies his account with photographs, including some of the plane that was used. In one, the marking "N2432S" is quite sharp; in another, four letters are clearly visible on its wing: "USAF". In other words, this is not merely a type of plane that is used by the military; it is not, as the Congresswoman claimed, just that similar aircraft were to be found in airports in Florida ever since the end of the conflict in Central America: Mr. David Lawrence Jr. actually flew in the one bearing the marking N2432S, from which the United States Air Force marking had not even been erased.

That is one thing. Another is that, today, 26 July, at 4.25 p.m., this aircraft is at the Opa Locka airport in Miami. It still bears the markings of the United States Air Force; it still belongs to Brothers to the Rescue and may be involved tomorrow, the day after, or at some point in the future in one of that group's operations.

On 26 June 1996, at the meeting of the ICAO Council, what I have said here was acknowledged by Mr. Frostell, who said that, indeed, this plane was still at Opa Locka and that it still bore United States military insignia. It is true that the "F" is a bit faded; it would seem that it is beginning to wear out, but you can still see it. It still belongs to Brothers to the Rescue and at any time could be used for acts of provocation against Cuba.

I do not know if members can recall earlier situations in which this Council or any other international body has considered any incidents related to international civil aviation. But I can say that there has been no other case before the international community of premeditated activities undertaken by an organization that is involved not in civil aviation but in illegitimate activities that not only violate international law, United States regulations and Cuban sovereignty, but are also related to very serious crimes against the Cuban people.

Cuba has had long experience in opposing actions taken against it and its people by small aircraft operating from United States territory. Cuban sugar fields have been burned by small aircraft. Cuban cities have been attacked from small aircraft. Explosives have been hurled from small aircraft. Sabotage has been carried out from small aircraft. Biological substances have been introduced into our country from small aircraft. From aircraft such as those of this group, actions of sabotage have been and are being planned against installations of the Republic of Cuba.

In this connection, let us consider page 83 of the report, which describes contacts between the United States authorities and Mr. Juan Pablo Roque, who had connections to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and who worked with it, providing information beginning in the summer of 1993 and ending in November 1995. It is logical that the FBI should have informers in various places, including among that group; I would imagine that there are many of them even now. The FBI must be awash in information. This person provided the Bureau with information on the group to which he belonged. I shall read from the report of the group of investigators, which, since it is within quotation marks, I must suppose to be information provided by the FBI to the investigation team.

It reads as follows:

> "'Twelve of the contacts were related to the Brothers to the Rescue. These reports include discussions of possible plans to smuggle or airdrop weapons into Cuba, and other plans to violate Cuban airspace'." *(S/1996/509, annex, appendix B, para. 2.6.9)*

The explanation that the Council has just heard tries to suggest to listeners that the situation was accidental, surprising and unprecedented, a situation in respect of which the Government of the United States had been taking measures prior to 24 February, as it had some information about possible violations.

The report of the investigation team says something to this effect. But there is much more, and an attempt is being made to keep it carefully concealed. I have another United States document, dated 5 July 1996. I do not have all of it, as it is very long and has thousands of pages. It is a document of the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), an entity which is often referred to in the press. On 5 July it examined the matter to which Ambassador Albright referred: the suspension of the licence of a pilot. It was originally suspended indefinitely, but the suspension has now been reduced to 150 days, which means that, if there is no change in the situation, that person will be able to fly again by October.

At 8.35 p.m. on Friday, 5 July, the NTSB held a meeting before an administrative judge of the Board, to consider the question of the suspension of Mr. Basulto's licence. Curiously, at that same meeting, Mr. Basulto seemed to be pre-empting the United States Ambassador

to the United Nations by making statements that seem to us to be very relevant. The United States presents its great, heroic, tough act of suspending a pilot's licence as an example of the vigorous application of its laws.

On page 1785 of that document Mr. Basulto himself pointed out the inconsistencies of the United States Administration. He indicated that his licence had been suspended for 82 days after 24 February, but that during that period he had flown his plane and absolutely nothing had been done about it. He also said that the United States Government, in the allegations it made when suspending the licence, referred to another incident — the only one that the United States Administration accepts. It was referred to in an earlier text of the draft resolution the Council is likely to adopt today, and concerns an aircraft that entered Cuban airspace on 13 July 1995. Everyone knows that this is a lie. Everyone knows that this is an unacceptable mockery of humanity. It even mocks the Security Council: the text refers to a plane in July 1995 for the simple reason that what happened that day was made public. It had been announced many months earlier, and had been covered by United States television. As he said, "I am being accused of that, but eight other aircraft were flying with me on that day." That is an interesting detail from the 5 July meeting. However, there are other points of interest which the Council should take into account. The report also refers to measures taken earlier by the United States.

The United States inspector, Mr. Charles Smith, supervisor of the office of the Miami district of the FAA, refers to meetings which he held in 1992, 1993, 1994 and, of course, in 1996, with people from this group, to try to convince them not to violate international law or United States regulations, and to warn them that they were committing offences which could be and should be punished.

Ambassador Albright said that steps had been taken before 24 February. Some inspectors or local authorities with a sense of responsibility, aware that those violations also put other United States travellers at risk, may have talked to those individuals. What does Mr. Smith say? He says that in July 1995, given that the violation was publicized and well-known, he received a very explicit response from the head of the group: he had to do what he had to do — and he did it. Mr. Smith interpreted this to mean that he was wittingly going to ignore rules and regulations and violate Cuban airspace. This was a man who was warned year after year by the authorities. But he had no reason to believe that any punishment would be meted out.

The testimony of Mr. William Schultz, a member of the Brothers to the Rescue group, appears on pages 1839 and 1840. Speaking before the administrative judge of the United States Transportation Safety Board, he says that he too had violated Cuban airspace. He flew over Havana on 13 July. He also says that he took with him a journalist from Channel 10, Miami, and a cameraman. He added that he was not charged by the FAA with any violation. He also explained that after arriving at Miami he saw on television that a number of planes, among them his own, were flying above Havana, obviously within the 12-mile zone, because they were physically over the capital of the Republic of Cuba. We have reached a total lack of respect for the truth. I do not see it in the text, which seems to be final; it has changed many times. But even yesterday, an earlier United States draft text stated that one plane had penetrated Cuban airspace on 13 July, even though the United States Government knows that there were at least eight planes, and even though the pilots of those planes themselves have said so. They refer to the injustice done to Mr. Basulto. Why take away someone's licence just so that you can refer to it in the Security Council? The policy is not to prevent these incidents, but to promote and encourage them.

I have already spoken of the trip taken by the editor of the *Miami Herald*. But what about the trip taken by Ambassador Dennis Hays? Who is Dennis Hays? I do not know if he is already an Ambassador or if he is still in the process of being confirmed by the United States Senate. And there, on 8 May 1996, before the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where they were considering his possible confirmation as Ambassador to some Caribbean country, Senator Christopher Dodd, a well known person in North American politics, expressed alarm at information he had, that this was Mr. Dennis Hays, who until last summer was the Director of the State Department Office for Cuban Affairs. Senator Dodd, a cultured and informed political figure, had been told or had found out that the Miami press had said that Mr. Hays also flew with Brothers to the Rescue. He had also been a crew member of those airplanes when serving as Director of the Office for Cuban Affairs. Senator Dodd asked about this before the Senate, at a level which I imagine must be taken seriously in the United States.

Following a detailed explanation, Senator Dodd asked:

(spoke in English)

"Did you ever fly with Brothers to the Rescue?"

Mr. Hays responded:

"Yes, Sir. I believe it was in late '93 and '94. My predecessor had also flown with them".

(spoke in Spanish)

It is a tradition. Mr. Hays was appointed Director of the Office for Cuban Affairs and among his assignments was also to accompany the planes, which most likely bore North American insignia, which most likely were going to violate Cuban airspace, which most likely were going to commit sabotage. Does the United States really believe it can convince anyone that it has done anything at all to discourage or prevent these things? No, Cuba does not accuse the victims, it does not turn the victims into the guilty. The main culprit is the Government of the United States of America. The main responsible party is an Administration which has been unable, not just to comply with international law, an obligation it must feel it has, but even to ensure respect for its own aviation rules and regulations.

In this document, which sets out the discussion with the administrative judge of the National Transportation Safety Board, there is a very specific description which complements the investigation team's assertion that the United States expected an incident on 23 February. Not only is there the indication given on the thirteenth. Several United States civil aviation officials give testimony to this judge to the effect that there is background that dates back even earlier. One of these officials, Mr. Houlihan, on page 1796, says that one week before 24 February — in other words, on 17 February — he was called to a meeting in which he was warned that on 24 February, that is a week later, Mr. Basulto and other pilots of the organization called Brothers to the Rescue would fly towards Cuba with the purpose of creating a political incident: one week before, 17 February.

This is repeated to him on 23 February, and on 24 February, at 7.45 a.m., he is told that that flight with that purpose will take place. Are the United States authorities really so innocent? Do they really possess the moral authority to present themselves as zealous defenders of the law, as concerned for the lives of others, as the active promoters of security in international aviation, as having the authority to give advice to everyone on how to behave with regard to these possible incidences? Or are they the authority responsible for the occurrence of this incident? They knew about it beforehand. They informed Mr. Houlihan at least one week earlier. The information was repeated on the eve, and they knew what was happening throughout the incident.

I invite members to turn to page 5 of the ICAO report. It is a voluminous report and it is not easy to read completely. However, page 5 is at the very beginning. It is the first map which appears in this report. It is a map drawn from United States information. It simply shows the Florida peninsula, the Florida strait, the outline of the Republic of Cuba, and two lines. One is the planned route. The planes would have flown down the eastern part of the Florida peninsula towards the centre of Cuba and then would have moved to the west to return to Key West. That was the planned route, the route for which they were given authorization to take off from Opa Locka on 24 February.

The other line is the actual route, the one that they actually took. It has nothing to do with the authorized route. Instead of descending by the east coast of Florida, they crossed the Florida peninsula to Key West and from there moved south, then west — all of this within the region under United States air traffic control — and then follow a straight line to the capital of Cuba. I repeat: the two lines are from the United States; they are their information — the request they made and what they actually did. Consider for a moment some timings. At 1.15 p.m. they took off from Opa Locka; at 2.55 p.m. they were almost at the 24th parallel. There was still some distance to go. They have been on route for one hour and 45 minutes, three quarters of the time of the whole incident, from the take-off from Opa Locka to the shootdown of the planes and the return of third plane. Three quarters of the time, an hour and 45 minutes. Where? Over Cuban territory, in Cuban airspace, or over United States territory in United States airspace?

What did the United States do to avoid an incident, or the playing out of an incident? There is a violation here, Madam Ambassador: from the moment of take-off the authorized flight plan was ignored.

It was ignored throughout the flight. It was ignored for an hour and 45 minutes. And the experts in interception manuals — those who know the most, those who pontificate, those who advise the rest of the world

as to what mechanisms to use in order to peacefully and smoothly avoid incidents — why did they do nothing? Where are the radio communications from any of those authorities — their own version? Where are they? What did Opa Locka say? What did Miami say? What did Key West say? Where are their warnings to those flights? Where is the signal that they should turn back, that they should land or that they should fly where they had the right to do so? Did it ever occur to you, Madam Ambassador, that flying without authorization over an area they had not been authorized to overfly could have endangered the life of any United States citizen who might be using that same airspace in a lawful way? Did it ever occur to you that for an hour and three quarters, these persons disregarded the United States authorities, who were vigilant, who had been warned and who were documenting this — why? — to allow them to fly directly over the capital of the Republic of Cuba, and then to say later that the very specific information they had ended here, that the last minutes were either erased or disappeared, or that their sophisticated technological methods were not able to specify what happened in the last stages of these flights.

But these authorities were fully aware of the initial stage of the flight and, as everything had been prepared in advance, not only did they do absolutely nothing, but it almost seems as if they were waiting with their arms crossed — and with the radar shut off, of course — for the incident to occur and be announced, so that they could become the great champions, before the Security Council, of international law, of civil aviation, of humanitarian principles, and so on.

The United States concealed information, falsified data and impeded the analysis, and, in addition — using procedures that are truly regrettable — tried to make consideration of this item before the Security Council as difficult as possible.

The Security Council now has before it a draft resolution that, in its first operative paragraph, would endorse the conclusions of the ICAO report and the resolution the ICAO Council adopted. In other words, members would endorse the conclusions that the Council of ICAO refused to endorse; it asks that the Security Council approve the conclusions of a report and at the same time the resolution of the body charged with studying it. That body rejected the suggestion repeatedly made by certain parties that it endorse the report, and it rejected it because of the great number of inconsistencies, contradictions and gaps the report contains.

The Council would be asked, in paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, to reaffirm the principle that

> "each State shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the deliberate use of any civil aircraft" *(S/1996/596, para. 5)*

and so on. The author is the United States. What real significance would it have if the Security Council accepted this formulation by a State that clearly has taken no measures whatsoever to prohibit the deliberate use of civil aircraft in a way inconsistent with the aims of the Chicago Convention? What are the "appropriate measures"? Should the Council also provide military aircraft to persons who will violate the rules of civil aviation? Should it appoint ambassadors to accompany the provocateurs? Should it tolerate, allow, promote, incite these activities? With what moral authority can the United States talk about something that it systematically violates day after day?

Paragraph 7 urges

> "all States that have not yet done so to ratify as soon as possible the Protocol adding article 3 *bis* to the Chicago Convention" *(S/1996/596, para. 7)*.

Will the United States do this? Will it set an example? Has it already taken the steps to ratify the Protocol? Since it is the only author of this draft resolution, one would assume that one who exhorts, one who asks the entire world to do something, would itself be prepared to follow through. At best, this is possible. But the end of the paragraph is truly a bad joke:

> "and to comply with all the provisions of the article pending the entry into force of the Protocol" *(ibid.)*.

Has the United States really been applying the provisions of article 3 *bis*? Has it ever truly applied any part of this article? Is it going to do so now? Is it going to change its policy? Is it going to take genuine measures to prevent the deliberate use of aircraft that are registered as civilian by the United States but that are dedicated to violating the rules of international civil aviation?

I should like to say the following: I know that some delegations that are members of the Council — not all, because a number of States here have not ratified this article — attach great importance to this issue. The Republic of Cuba wishes to offer to all of them the possibility of showing that they genuinely, and not only

rhetorically, adhere to article 3 *bis*. The Republic of Cuba proposes, and is already taking the relevant steps, to ask the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization to analyse, at its next session, problems related to the abuse of civil aviation in our region and to the improper use of aircraft registered as civil aircraft in the United States, in contravention of the Chicago Convention. We hope that the Council of ICAO will agree to discuss this issue, which would mean an analysis of the necessary conditions for compliance with the provisions of this article in one specific part of the world.

We hope that all the States that defend 3 *bis* and that want to see it enforced will cooperate with us so that this article, and its just purposes, can be truly applied in practice — not used simply so that a State that has not ratified it and does not comply with it can utilize it demagogically, exhorting others to accept it. I repeat that very soon the Council of ICAO will be called upon at the request of Cuba to examine this crucial question of the improper use of civil aviation in this region that unites us and separates us, specifically violations of international civil aviation and its norms. This, I might mention in passing, does not mean only violations of the sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba — which might be of interest to the United States — but also means threats to the safety of citizens of the United States, who are the majority users of the international air corridors over the Republic of Cuba; to United States aircraft, which represent the majority of the aircraft flying over Cuba; and to United States passengers, who represent the majority of those who use the airlines that fly over the territory of the Republic of Cuba.

A month ago, the ICAO Council considered this question and adopted the decision contained in its resolution. I recall very vividly the moment when consideration of this subject began. I heard the representative of your country, Sir — the representative of France to ICAO — draw attention to the fact that, independent of or beyond the specific issue to be considered by ICAO at that time, what was before the ICAO Council was above all the question of the prestige and credibility of ICAO. This subject, which was first raised in the discussion by the representative of France, was reiterated on many occasions by most members of the ICAO Council. I regret that the verbatim records of all that was said there are not available to members, and that no steps have been taken to make them available. Of course, my delegation is quite prepared to provide to anyone who might be interested in the whole truth of events in Montreal with this information, which of course we have in our possession.

In the end, on 27 June, I believe that the ICAO Council, as I said there, managed to preserve its prestige. It managed to prevent its credibility being damaged by the manipulative attempts it had to confront. It is up to this Council now to act. It is up to its members to respond on behalf of the credibility and prestige of this organ.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the President of the National Assembly of People's Power of the Republic of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. García (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all to express our pleasure at seeing you, Sir, presiding over this meeting of the Council. We commend you on your conduct of the presidency for July.

My delegation wishes to participate in this debate to help avoid any recurrence of incidents like the one that was the subject of the resolution adopted by the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and of the events that surrounded it.

We believe that these incidents and events require the international community to reflect on the causes that led to them or, more to the point, on those that might precipitate further incidents, if we are to avoid merely recriminatory attitudes that are not in keeping with the responsibility of all States to avoid such incidents.

My delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization for its efforts to agree on a moderate — or better, measured — resolution with the constructive objective of impressing upon all States the need to respect international principles of civil aviation.

In this connection, because of their relevance, we wish to stress operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of the ICAO Council resolution of 27 June 1996, which make the point that these are concomitant principles that are ineluctably linked. The principle that States must refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight is

as relevant as that which establishes that each State shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the deliberate use of any civil aircraft registered in that State for any purpose inconsistent with the aims of the Convention on International Civil Aviation. None the less, concerned as the international community is to avoid further tragic incidents, from a preventive and practical standpoint it is of the utmost urgency that the second of these principles be respected so that the sovereignty of States is not affected by acts that contravene the Convention and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

My delegation feels that the Security Council could take advantage of its consideration of the item before us to reiterate emphatically the commitment of the United Nations to the inviolability of the sovereignty of States and the individual's right to life.

As to the draft resolution under consideration, we regret that it does not contain some of the amendments proposed by the caucus of members of the Non-Aligned Movement that are members of the Security Council. Similarly, we find no justification for the Security Council's remaining indefinitely seized of the matter before it. If that is the decision, we believe that it should be made taking into consideration the many elements that led to the incidents without discriminatory neglect of events that may have preceded or followed them.

Lastly, my delegation wishes to reiterate the need for all States to respect and comply with the principles and norms of the Chicago Convention.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Colombia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Like other speakers, I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. Aware as I am of your skills and broad experience in international affairs, I believe that the Council's work will be fruitful. I also wish to congratulate the Permanent Representative of Egypt for his outstanding work in guiding the Council's business last month. The Lao delegation also wishes to thank most sincerely all the members of the Council for granting our request to participate in this important discussion of the question before the Council.

In the note from its Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 26 February 1996, the Government of Cuba informed the world that on 24 February 1996, between 3.21 p.m. and 3.28 p.m., two Cessna aircraft which had taken off in Florida had been shot down by aircraft of the Cuban Air Force when they were again violating the airspace above Cuban territorial waters at a distance of 8 to 12 kilometres to the north of the beach of Baracoa, west of Havana. In the same note the Government of Cuba also stated that earlier, between 10.15 a.m. and 11.27 a.m., three aircraft of the same type had violated Cuban airspace and territorial waters. A Cuban Air Force plane then flew towards them, forcing them by its presence to leave the area. The planes in question then flew north. Again according to Cuba, at 1.21 p.m. one of the planes again headed towards Cuba, despite the fact that it had been warned by Havana air traffic control that it was exposing itself to great risk should it decide to intrude into this zone. In addition to the violations of airspace and territorial waters, Cuba referred to the introduction, by groups of people of Cuban origin based in Florida, of weapons and explosives into its territory, and to the dispatch of commandos to spread violence in various regions of the country. In short, these violations were committed on numerous occasions, even though those responsible had been repeatedly warned that Cuban patience had its limits and that those incursions would no longer be tolerated.

According to Cuban authorities, all means of persuasion to prevent acts of this kind had thus been exhausted. That is why the Government of Cuba decided to put an end to the flights, which jeopardized Cuban sovereignty and endangered the lives of Cuban citizens.

My country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, has followed this unfortunate incident very closely. We listened very attentively to the explanations offered by the Cuban Government to the international community. We profoundly regret the loss of life that resulted from this incident, and it is our sincere wish that this should never recur.

The world knows that the question now before the Council is not an easy one. On the contrary, it is delicate and particularly complex. Nevertheless, we are of the firm opinion that in all circumstances every country or sovereign State has the right and the sacred duty to defend its independence and territorial integrity if it

considers that these are threatened or violated. This is the simplest and most elementary exercise of international law. However, given that at this stage a multitude — I stress, a multitude — of technical questions have not yet been clarified, we do not believe that there are yet grounds to resolve the substance of the question: knowing who is responsible for this incident, how it took place, and why.

In the view of our delegation, this unfortunate incident is but a sad reflection of the difficult relations that have existed for more than three decades between the Republic of Cuba and the United States of America. It seems that the two countries have not yet exhausted all available means to try to resolve their problems. Lack of mutual trust generally predominates in their relations. The international community can only be alarmed by this situation which benefits neither party, but, on the contrary, jeopardizes the legitimate interests of both peoples.

It is true that, as we said earlier, the question before us is extremely complicated, but we also know that it is not insoluble. Provided that there is true political will on the part of the parties to the conflict, the desired end can surely be attained. Against this background, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, faithful to its policy of peace, independence, friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world, appeals to both parties — the Republic of Cuba and the United States of America — to demonstrate great wisdom and endeavour to improve their bilateral relations and resolve their disputes peacefully, which would contribute to the maintenance of peace and the promotion of cooperation in this region and in the rest of the world.

That is the opinion which my delegation wishes to present to the Council on the subject of this unfortunate incident.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ngo Quang Xuan (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, and to thank you for having convened this meeting, which our delegation considers very important.

(*spoke in English*)

With regard to the item under discussion, my delegation would like to reaffirm that we, as a Member of the United Nations, have always laid emphasis on the most fundamental principles of our Organization, that is to respect the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, be they large or small, and to abide by the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in their internal affairs.

As a non-aligned country and a good friend of Cuba, Viet Nam supports the foreign policy carried out by the Cuban Government, which is in accordance with the principles of respect for peace, friendship, national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. In this matter, my delegation fully supports the ongoing efforts made by the international community, including those of the non-aligned countries, with a view to maintaining the aforementioned principles.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Viet Nam for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): I must say that, listening this afternoon to the representative of Cuba, I found myself wondering whether I was listening to something out of *Alice in Wonderland*, where everything is topsy-turvy and back-to-front — what you might call either Wonderland or Looking-Glass Land. It is rather revealing, I thought, that early in his statement he should have been quoting Lewis Carroll at us. But to adapt a line of Shakespeare, perhaps the envoy doth protest too much.

The Security Council is about to vote on a draft resolution which makes clear this Council's condemnation of the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight. That is why my delegation will be voting in favour of the draft resolution. The United Kingdom would like to take

this opportunity to express its deep condolences to the families of those who were killed on 24 February 1996.

In the Council President's statement of 27 February 1996, the Council strongly deplored the shooting down by the Cuban Air Force of two civil aircraft on 24 February and requested the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to investigate this incident and to report its findings to the Security Council. The United Kingdom strongly supports the draft resolution's endorsement of the ICAO report and resolution. And I think it is fair in the context of this afternoon's discussion to remind ourselves of what some of the conclusions of that report are.

Conclusion 3.12 is that the first aircraft was destroyed by an air-to-air missile fired by a Cuban MiG-29 aircraft. Conclusion 3.13 is that the second aircraft was destroyed by an air-to-air missile fired by a Cuban MiG-29 military aircraft. Conclusion 3.18 is that means other than interception were available to Cuba, but had not been utilized. Conclusion 3.19 is that during the interceptions no attempt was made to guide them away or instruct them to effect a landing at a designated aerodrome. Conclusion 3.20 is that the standard procedures for manoeuvring and signals by the military interceptor aircraft were not followed. Conclusion 3.22 is that the rule of customary international law that States must refrain from resorting to the use of weapons, as codified in article 3 *bis* of the Chicago Convention, apply irrespective of whether or not such aircraft is within the territorial airspace of that State.

There can be no doubt that Cuba has contravened principles of international law in using force against civil aircraft and in not following established international procedures on interception of such aircraft. The message in this draft resolution is clear. Such incidents are unacceptable to the international community.

There is an obligation on all States to comply with the provisions of international law and the standards and recommended practices set down in the Chicago Convention and its annexes, and to cooperate fully with the International Civil Aviation Organization. The United Kingdom looks to all States to abide by their obligations in this regard.

The United Kingdom would draw the Council's attention to paragraph 7 of the resolution before us. We urge all States who have not yet ratified the Protocol adding Article 3 *bis* to the Chicago Convention to take the necessary steps to do so as soon as possible.

The purpose of this draft resolution is firstly to draw attention to the illegal use of weapons in this incident. And I think it really is important to recall this afternoon against the background of what I might call the cloud of unknowing to which we had to listen earlier — a virtuoso demonstration of the art of filibuster in the grand manner. I heard the representative of Cuba say in part of his statement that Cuba had a lot of very long experience of this and that. Well, I think this Council also has very long experience — experience, among other things, of tactics deployed in this Chamber in relation to the policy of the Government of Cuba. I myself remember very clearly first hearing that kind of approach one autumn day in the year 1962 in this very Chamber. It brings to mind something that I might call the tactic of the whopper. I make no accusations. But the tactic of the whopper applies when one wants to take liberties with the truth and rather than indulging in what Churchill would have called a little terminological inexactitude, the tactic of the whopper dictates that if you tell it long enough and you tell it big enough, there is a sporting chance that someone will believe part of it, even if only out of sheer exhaustion. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

But this draft resolution also looks forward and seeks to prevent the recurrence of similar actions which put at risk the lives of those travelling in civil aircraft in the future. My delegation hopes that all States will take due note, acknowledge their obligations and take every possible measure to ensure that the tragic events of 24 February are not repeated.

In taking action this day, the Security Council is doing no more than upholding the principles of international law and fulfilling its responsibilities to safeguard international peace and security. It is with this in mind that I commend the draft resolution to colleagues in this Council, and that is why we shall vote for it ourselves.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): Germany will vote in favour of the draft resolution on the communication which has been presented at the request of this Council by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) on the incident which occurred on 24 February 1996 and which led to the shooting down of two United States-based unarmed civilian aircraft by the Cuban Air Force.

The vote on this draft resolution comes after weeks of intense discussions and deliberations. All different aspects of the case have been subject to close scrutiny. In this context, we would like to commend ICAO for its

resolution and its report. The main item at stake is the basic rule that States must refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight. Let me add, in the light of what has been explained at some length by the representative of Cuba, that shooting down unarmed civilian aircraft — regardless of where this is done: whether it is done over territorial waters or over the high seas — is a clear breach of international law — if not codified and ratified, then of customary international law — which must not be tolerated.

Let me use this occasion to express our sincere condolences to the families of those killed in those planes.

We hope that the legal discussion can now come to an end, and that further violations of this basic rule will not occur. We would like to see that the recent discussion has sharpened the conscience and sensibility of those responsible, and we sincerely hope that this will remain true in the future.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Civil aviation not only involves the safety of the people of all countries but is also closely related to the sovereignty of those countries, to which due attention should be paid. Therefore, the Council has considered the draft resolution before us on many occasions.

The Chinese delegation expresses its regret over the casualties caused by the shooting down of the two civil aircraft. We are of the view that the principles of international law should be implemented in a comprehensive, fair and balanced manner. No country should apply selectivity to their implementation in accordance with its own needs. Therefore, we maintain that the provisions of international law on the non-use of weapons against civil aircraft should be respected; by the same token, those on the inviolability of territorial airspace and those against the abuse of civil aviation must also be observed.

The Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) has considered all aspects of this question and has adopted a resolution on it. We believe that this resolution is a balanced and fair one which represents the collective will of all the members of ICAO. Therefore, the Chinese delegation repeatedly emphasized during the consultations that the Council should base its actions on this resolution and adopt the same fair and balanced approach. We accordingly put forward reasonable amendments to the draft resolution before us.

Regrettably, however, despite some efforts by the sponsor, the key amendments proposed by the parties concerned were not accepted. This has given the current draft resolution a biased tilt. Therefore, the Chinese delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Let me begin by extending to our colleagues in the delegation of the United States our condolences with regard to the pilots who lost their lives in February.

We are today addressing a very sensitive and delicate technical subject. We have had to decode and digest information from charts and graphs; some of us are not very good at that. Our task has not been made easy by the nature of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) report. It makes the matter under review subject to conflicting interpretations, a state of affairs that is compounded by the history of the area in which the incident of 24 February 1996 took place. Our comments this afternoon are therefore a synthesis of the facts as we understand them from the ICAO report and of our interpretation of the Convention on International Civil Aviation and its annexes.

My delegation made its position very clear earlier this year regarding the absolute necessity for States to refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft. There is no doubt in our minds that civil aircraft should be rendered whatever assistance they may need at all times whenever they enter the national airspace of any State unannounced or through an ungazetted entry point. In the normal course of their operations such aircraft would definitely lose their way. They should ordinarily be intercepted and guided to a landing strip, where the true facts regarding their presence in the area may be established.

Equally, civil aircraft should never be used for purposes inconsistent with the spirit and intent of the Chicago Convention. Civil aircraft that take to the air from a country of registration, ignore air corridors they have logged with the control towers and deliberately penetrate the airspace of another country for the purpose of fomenting civil disorder or disturbance there should be seriously warned against engaging in such acts of provocation. While States should indeed refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft, they should not be unnecessarily provoked into taking actions they would otherwise ordinarily avoid taking.

In short, civil aircraft should not be used for the provocation of States under any circumstances, and States should not shoot down such aircraft on sight, as this puts the lives of those on board, and the aircraft, in danger.

The draft resolution before us is generally acceptable to my delegation to the extent that it reaffirms the principles enshrined in the Convention on International Civil Aviation and its annexes. We would have been happier, however, if the language of paragraphs 2 and 6 had been drafted differently.

The incident of 24 February 1996 was most unfortunate indeed, and we hope there will be no similar tragic event in the future.

Mr. Queta (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has considered very carefully the deliberations of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), convened to examine the question of the destruction, on 24 February 1996, of two private civil aircraft registered in the United States. The two airplanes shot down belonged to the Brothers to the Rescue organization. We should like to express once again our regret at the four deaths that resulted from this incident.

This act is a violation of article 3 *bis* of the Convention on International Civil Aviation, under which no circumstance and no argument can justify the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight.

My Government believes that respect for the rules of international law is an indispensable condition for the maintenance of international peace and security. In this context, we feel that the draft resolution before us, particularly in its paragraphs 4 and 5, sends a clear message aimed at avoiding such incidents in the future. My delegation will support the draft resolution.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Honduras believes that all peace-loving States must align their conduct with the principles and norms of general, treaty and customary international law. That is why we regret the events related to the shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996 by the Cuban Air Force, acts that are in clear contravention of those international principles and norms.

In deploring that incident, this Council recalled in its presidential statement of 27 February that States must refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft and must not endanger the lives of persons on board and the safety of aircraft and that States are obliged in all circumstances to respect international law and human rights norms, in particular article 3 *bis* of the Convention on International Civil Aviation.

The report of the International Civil Aviation Organization, which investigated the incident at the Security Council's request, not only reaffirms these principles, but also affirms that, although every State exercises territorial sovereignty over its airspace, it has the duty to observe the principle recognized in customary international law regarding the non-use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight and that, in intercepting such aircraft, its conduct must be guided by the rules laid down in the Chicago Convention of 7 December 1944 and its annexes.

At the same time, the report reminds us that no State must permit, in violation of its international obligations, the deliberate use from its territory of civil aircraft registered in that State to violate the territorial sovereignty of another State. Article 4 of the Chicago Convention is clear in stipulating that:

> "Each Contracting State agrees not to use civil aviation for any purpose inconsistent with the aims of this Convention".

My delegation considers that, in the incident of 24 February, there was a twofold lack of compliance with the responsibilities and obligations established by the Convention on International Civil Aviation. We feel that the international community must not permit such conduct to continue. That is why Honduras, while condemning the use of weapons against civil aircraft, wishes to appeal to the parties involved to comply with their international commitments, to take measures to avoid committing in future such acts, which are incompatible with the objectives of the Convention, and to ratify its article 3 *bis*. My delegation therefore agrees with the contents of the draft resolution before the Council and will vote in its favour.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): On 27 February 1996, the Security Council in its presidential statement requested the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to investigate the tragic incident of the shooting down by the Cuban Air Force of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996.

We have before us the resolution of the Council of ICAO and the report of the Secretary General of that organization. Our delegation welcomes both with a great deal of appreciation. These documents confirm our strong belief that States must refrain from resorting to the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight. This principle, although codified in article 3 *bis* of the Chicago Convention, is indeed very well based in customary international law. But do we really need to quote rules of international law to prove that unarmed civil aircraft must not be shot down? After all, the resolution adopted by the ICAO Council on 27 June 1996 expressly recognizes that the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight is incompatible with elementary considerations of humanity. Today, we are going to condemn such acts in the Security Council's draft resolution, hoping they will never happen again.

The draft resolution before us reaffirms the principle that each State shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the deliberate use of its aircraft for purposes inconsistent with the aims of the Chicago Convention. We value this principle.

Before concluding, let me take this opportunity to express my delegation's deepest sympathy to the families of the victims of the tragic incident of 24 February 1996. We sincerely hope that today's debate and the draft resolution, in favour of which Poland is going to vote, will prevent such incidents in the future.

Mr. Choi (Republic of Korea): My Government has maintained a firm and consistent position in emphasizing the safety of civil aviation. We are convinced that the use of weapons against unarmed civil aircraft in flight is unacceptable under any circumstances. Such an act constitutes a violation of the rules of customary international law governing international civil aviation, as now codified in article 3 *bis* of the Chicago Convention. In keeping with this view, my delegation joined the Council's consensus last February in adopting the presidential statement, which strongly deplored the shooting down of the two civilian aircraft. At the same time, my delegation considers it very important for the Security Council to reaffirm the principle that all States shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the misuse of civil aircraft.

The draft resolution before us upholds in clear terms the principles of international law concerning the safety of civil aviation, to which my Government is fully committed. The draft resolution rightly condemns the use of weapons against civil aircraft and reaffirms the obligation of all States to take measures to prevent the misuse of any civil aircraft. My delegation, therefore, will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express our sincere condolences to the families of the victims of the incident. Indeed, what is most important at this juncture is to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents in the future and to secure the safety of civil aviation. To that end, the principles reaffirmed in the draft resolution must be fully complied with by all States. It is in this spirit that my delegation fully endorses paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, which urges all States which have not yet done so to ratify as soon as possible the Protocol adding article 3 *bis* to the Chicago Convention, and to comply with all the provisions of the article pending its entry into force.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): At the outset, the Indonesian delegation would like to express its appreciation for the note by the Secretary-General (S/1996/509) transmitting the report of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), entitled "Report of the investigation regarding the shooting down of two U.S.-registered private civil aircraft by Cuban military aircraft on 24 February 1996". The report was produced following the Security Council's request, in paragraph 3 of the presidential statement of 27 February 1996, to investigate the incident in its entirety. That statement also called on the Governments concerned to cooperate fully with the investigation. My delegation would also like to commend the Council of the ICAO, as the specialized intergovernmental body of the United Nations system responsible for civil aviation, for its resolution.

During the previous discussion on the presidential statement requesting the report, Indonesia expressed its position of deep concern, and strongly deplored the shooting down by the Cuban Air Force of the two aircraft because it was incompatible with article 3 *bis* of the Chicago Convention. However, the tenets of article 3 *bis* of the Chicago Convention should be viewed in a comprehensive manner, as they also encompass other cardinal principles. Hence, we would like to recall that article 3 *bis* (d) of the Chicago Convention states that, *inter alia*,

> "each contracting State shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the deliberate use of any civil aircraft registered in that State ... for any purpose inconsistent with the aims of this Convention."

This principle should be strictly adhered to, for it is our opinion that the misuse or misrepresentation of civilian aircraft for other purposes prejudices the safety of legitimate civilian aircraft. Accordingly, it is important to ascertain the true purpose of the flights of 24 February 1996. It is essential that the sanctity of civilian aircraft be preserved. In this regard, we are pleased to learn from the United States Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Federico Peña, that the United States will take appropriate steps to discourage exile pilots from entering Cuban airspace without prior authorization.

Our delegation believes that it is the responsibility of all States to avoid any actions that hinder the development of legitimate civil aviation and the promotion of air safety worldwide. In this regard, my delegation believes that the safety of international aviation should be approached in a constructive manner by the Security Council: rather than condemning the action of one State, the Council should underline the principles providing safe civil aviation conditions, while respecting and promoting the sovereignty of States over their territory, including their airspace. It is my delegation's firm belief that the territorial integrity of a State's airspace must be respected by other States, and that repeated violations of the territorial airspace of Cuba by civilian aircraft would indeed be a cause of concern for Cuba.

It should be noted that more than 340 civil aircraft overfly Cuban airspace daily without incident, and that more than half of these are United States aircraft. Therefore my delegation has reservations with regard to paragraph 6 of the draft resolution because it lacks the most elementary objectivity by urging Cuba to abide by principles it has always held. It is, indeed, intolerable that civil-registered aircraft are used for purposes inconsistent with the Convention on International Civil Aviation and go so far as to violate the sovereignty of States and their airspace. We therefore call upon all States, without exception, strictly to abide by the principles, norms, rules and regulations regarding international air navigation as laid down in the Chicago Convention and its annexes, and in other international instruments.

It is the view of the Indonesian delegation that the Council's reaction should be expressed in a comprehensive and balanced manner. Hence, the Security Council must be assertive in ensuring that all parties are in compliance with the Chicago Convention and its annexes in their entirety. It is our firm belief that international law should be equally applicable to all sovereign nations and not serve the interpretations of one party. If the Council were to endorse such a selective approach, this would only undermine the credibility of international law. In the words of the world Court, as reflected in the works of Professor Georg Schwarzenberger, the rules of international law exist

> "in order to regulate the relations between these coexisting independent communities or with a view to the achievement of common aims."

The incident of 24 February was thoroughly deliberated in the Council of ICAO from 26 to 27 June 1996. Even after three months of investigation, the ICAO team was unable to obtain conclusive evidence which would enable it to determine the precise location of the incident. Significant differences exist in the data provided by the parties involved. Certain aspects require further clarification. Having considered the above circumstances, the Council of ICAO therefore found it difficult to endorse the report of the investigation team. In this regard, we must express our reservations over paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, since the Council of ICAO itself did not endorse the report. Therefore, we deem it inappropriate for the Security Council to endorse the report at this juncture. Similarly, with regard to paragraph 2, the resolution of the Council of ICAO does not qualify the incident of 24 February 1996.

Moreover, our delegation is of the view that the draft resolution could be improved in order to have a balanced text. Among other elements which create difficulties for my delegation is the request to only one party to comply with the relevant resolutions and international civil aviation law, contained in the second part of paragraph 6. We feel that no one party should be singled out. Efforts have been made by various delegations, including the Non-Aligned Movement caucus, to improve the draft resolution. However, my delegation cannot but express its disappointment that a number of proposed amendments aimed at achieving a fair and balanced text were not adequately considered.

It is our firm belief that the responsibility of the Security Council and ICAO is to prevent the recurrence of such incidents in the future. In this regard, it is imperative that all States honour their obligations under the Chicago Convention and its annexes in their entirety. In this context, operative paragraph 9 of the resolution adopted by the Council of ICAO on 27 June 1996 is of paramount importance because it

> "requests all Contracting States to report at any time to the Council any infraction of the above-mentioned

rules contained in the Convention on International Civil Aviation".

We believe that ICAO, as the competent body, will in turn immediately adopt appropriate measures that should prevent further violations of the adopted principles, rules, standards and recommended practices. The ICAO must do so to achieve the orderly and safe development of international aviation, thus preventing the occurrence of further incidents.

We regret the excessive use of force, which resulted in the loss of human life. In this regard, my delegation extends its sympathy to the families of the victims for their loss. It is our sincere hope that such an incident will not recur in the future. Therefore, my delegation would like to reiterate its position that there is no justification for any State to resort to the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight; no State must endanger the lives of persons on board and the safety of the aircraft. Furthermore, all available measures to prevent such an incident from occurring, as well as standard procedures that guide aircraft away from danger, must be followed.

As a matter of principle, the Indonesian position condemns the use of weapons against civil aircraft, as such use is clearly in violation of the rules of customary international law, as codified in article 3 *bis* of the Chicago Convention and ICAO provisions concerning interception of civil aircraft. These rules must be respected by all parties, regardless of whether or not such an aircraft is within the territorial airspace of that State. The principle of non-recourse to weapons against civil aircraft is indeed reflected in paragraph 6 of the present draft resolution.

Based on these considerations, the Indonesian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us today.

Mr. Somavía (Chile)(*interpretation from Spanish*): Following an active process of consultations, this draft resolution has been put before us; we shall vote in favour of it.

Ever since the regrettable incident of 24 February was brought before the Council, we have based our actions on the following basic tenets: first, we have endeavoured to express our sensitivity to the humanitarian dimension of the incident, as valuable lives were lost; secondly, we have worked for the preservation of the principles and norms of international law; and thirdly, in the sphere of procedure, we have wanted a clear investigative process that would provide us with accurate background information as to what in fact occurred.

In regard to the first point, our position was clear from the first day. As representative of a country which attaches special importance to humanitarian aspects, we could not but deeply regret the loss of four lives through the downing of two aircraft registered in the United States on 24 February last. For us it is impossible to justify these deaths, and we can only the hope that they may help avoid recurrence of such events.

In connection with the second point, we have also affirmed from the outset as fundamental the need to comply with the norms of international law which govern civil aviation, and in this respect we have supported the principles and norms of the Chicago Convention of 1944, clearly establishing the validity as a norm of customary law, of article 3 *bis* of that Convention. In that context, one of our objectives has been to reaffirm the absolute need for that norm to be respected by all States in order to ensure the proper use and security of civil aviation.

With respect to the third point, we agreed that the Council, together with deploring the events, should go beyond that and ask the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to conduct an investigation of the case and transmit its conclusions to the Council.

We have carefully studied this issue in the technical report, its recommendations and conclusions, and in the ICAO resolution of 27 June, which transmits it. We have expressed our appreciation for the efforts made by ICAO's technical team, yet we recognize the difficulties faced by the team in arriving at a conclusive document because of the limitations inherent in the nature of the investigation.

All that notwithstanding, we appreciate the resolution adopted by the Council of ICAO, as it provides us with important substantive elements and reaffirms principles which we deem to be fundamental.

Nobody is unaware that above and beyond the factual aspects of the incidence itself, the controversy stemming from it straddles two different questions: on the one hand, the downing of unarmed civil aircraft, and on the other hand, the use of civil aviation in a manner inconsistent with the Chicago Convention. When confronted with the task of placing the importance of the two questions in proper perspective, it is obvious to us that human life is the supreme value which we must

protect, just as we must protect the security of civil aviation in this case, by defending and reiterating the applicable norms of international law. Thus, we shall participate with our vote in the adoption of this draft resolution.

But at the same time, it is our hope that this incident will allow us all to reflect, so that in the future everyone may be able to hold avoid similar situations. My delegation hopes that States will take the appropriate additional measures to prevent the improper use of civil aviation, as is reaffirmed in paragraph 5 of the draft resolution.

Also important to us is the decision taken by the Council of ICAO to establish a mechanism for prior information in the case of possible actions contrary to article 3 *bis*, and for reporting to the ICAO. We also hope that the ICAO study on security aspects relative to the recommended standards and practices and other rules on the interception of civil aircraft will help in preventing future tragedies of this kind.

We conclude with a feeling of profound sorrow at an incident we deplore, which Chile would prefer had never occurred, in the firm hope that the Council will not have to deal with such a matter again, and in full solidarity with the families of the victims.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): In its presidential statement of the 27 February last, the Security Council strongly deplored the shooting down by the Cuban Air Force of two civil aircraft, which had taken place three days earlier, resulting in the death of four persons.

On the same occasion, the Council requested the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to investigate the incident and to report its findings to the Council. The ICAO report has confirmed the basic facts: two unarmed civil aircraft in flight were destroyed, while

> "Means other than interception were available to Cuba, such as radio communication, but had not been utilized". *(S/1996/509, annex, appendix B, para. 3.18)*

The position of the Italian Government is fully reflected in the statement issued by the Foreign Ministers of the European Union on 26 February:

> "Irrespective of the circumstances of the incident, there can be no excuse for not respecting international law and human rights norms". *(S/1996/145, annex)*

The Italian Government deeply regrets the loss of lives caused by this tragic event.

My delegation fully subscribes, therefore, to the reaffirmation of the principle that States must refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight, which is also contained in the resolution adopted by the ICAO and forwarded to the Security Council with the report. Such use is indeed a violation of the rules of customary international law, irrespective of whether or not the aircraft is within the territorial airspace of that State and irrespective, as well, of whether or not that State has ratified the Protocol introducing article 3 *bis* of the Convention on International Civil Aviation.

On the other hand, we also believe that the ICAO Council was correct in underlining the principle that each contracting State shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the deliberate use of any civil aircraft for any purpose inconsistent with the aims of the Convention. The draft resolution before the Council contains an important reference to this principle.

Indeed, the text of the draft resolution, largely based on the resolution adopted by the ICAO Council, contains specific references to all principles governing international civil aviation relevant to the issue under consideration, while noting in its crucial paragraph that the unlawful shooting down by the Cuban Air Force of the civil aircraft violated the most basic of these principles.

For these reasons, Italy will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Egypt wishes to make the following comments before the vote on this draft resolution.

First of all, the subject before us today is, in the opinion of my delegation, a legal one. Even if it has important political dimensions, it relates to the need to safeguard respect for international law under the Chicago Convention of 1944 and its additional Protocols, in particular the 1984 Protocol adding the text of article 3 *bis*. This article enshrines the rule of customary law, whereby countries undertake to refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight. The text of this article — and I personally participated in drafting it — is global in scope and does not allow for any exception, whatever the grounds may be. Article 3 *bis* affirms the right of every country to protect its sovereignty by

obliging any aircraft overflying its territory without due cause to land at an airport according to procedures adopted by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). However, this must be done without endangering the lives of passengers on board the aircraft.

We live today in a world that must be governed by law, and any violation of international law is a violation of the rights of every country. We in the Security Council must act in solidarity so as to address any violations clearly and specifically. Secondly, the Security Council's approval of the conclusions of the report — even through we note contradictions in certain parts of the report, and even though the Security Council approves the report adopted by the Council of ICAO by consensus — is aimed mainly at ensuring the respect of, and full support for, international law in this area. It aims also at ensuring the observance of internationally adopted procedures and measures regarding the interception of any aircraft penetrating the airspace of a country, whether that country has ratified the Convention or not.

Egypt has ratified article 3 *bis* and would invite countries that have not yet ratified that text to do so as quickly as possible. We believe that all countries should respect the rules set out in that Protocol. The delegation of Egypt considers it extremely important to affirm, as mentioned in the draft resolution and without any exceptions, the need for all Member States to take appropriate measures to prohibit the use of any civil aircraft registered in that State or operated in full knowledge of the facts by an operator who has his principal place of business or permanent residence in that State for any purpose inconsistent with the aims of the Chicago Convention and related Protocols, particularly if the goals are political.

For this reason, the delegation of Egypt will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Gorelik (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today the Security Council is considering a very important question, which has a number of closely interrelated aspects. Many of these have recently become the focus of particular attention by the international community.

We are facing a problem: how to ensure in practice the proper observance and integration of the principles of humanity, national security, State sovereignty in the flying of civil aircraft. To strike an optimum balance between these principles is an extremely complex task, but it cannot be deferred.

As a result of long and painstaking efforts, the international community has established an international legal framework for an approach to this set of issues. As we know, these efforts were enshrined in article 3 *bis* of the Convention on International Civil Aviation. Unfortunately, not all States have yet ratified that article.

Turning to specifics, the Security Council is endeavouring to come to grips with all the circumstances of the tragic incidents of 24 February of this year, which resulted in loss of life. We would like to reiterate that we profoundly regret this loss of life and to express our condolences to the bereaved families.

The main lesson here is that all States without exception should fully comply with the requirements of article 3 *bis* in their entirety. This is precisely how we view the essence of the consideration of the tragedy of 24 February, both in the Security Council and in the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). As for the results of the work of ICAO, we are in a position to say that this most authoritative body in the field of civil aviation opted for a constructive approach on the basis of an expert analysis of this incident, to focus its attention mainly on the prevention of similar incidents in the future.

The draft resolution before the Security Council reaffirms the conclusion of the Council of ICAO, that States must refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight and that, when civil aircraft are intercepted, the lives of persons on board must not be endangered. This is a very important reaffirmation.

The draft resolution condemns the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight as incompatible with considerations of humanity, the rules of customary international law, standards and recommended practices. It is our conviction that this applies to all States.

In this, however, the Security Council bears a great responsibility in terms of effective and timely measures to ensure compliance with international law, which includes not allowing violations of the sovereignty of Member States or of the standards and rules of international civil aviation.

Unfortunately, the draft resolution before us, despite real improvements over the initial text — and we note

with satisfaction the efforts of the United States delegation to that end — continues to deviate from the general direction consistent with the interests of all members of the international community. This text remains unbalanced from the political and international legal standpoints. It clearly does not strike a balance between two fundamental principles: the non-use of weapons against civil aircraft and the non-use of such aircraft for illegal purposes. In our view, this establishes an unfortunate precedent for the future. International law must be complied with by all and in all its aspects. In insisting on unswerving compliance with one of its principles, laid down in article 3 *bis* of the Chicago Convention, it is important to ensure complete compliance with the other, no less significant principle of the same article.

It has come about that the draft resolution skirts over the underlying reasons for the incident and places its main emphasis to the consequences. And yet it is common knowledge that the nature of the flights undertaken by Brothers to the Rescue, as well as the aims pursued through them, are hardly compatible with the aims laid down for the use of civil aviation by the Chicago Convention. The task, however, is for the Security Council, through its authoritative decision, to encourage the adoption of timely and all-encompassing measures to prevent such tragedies from occurring in the future.

As to certain professional questions in connection with the investigation of the incident, the Security Council has actually bypassed the opinions of the ICAO Council. We are also unhappy that the draft resolution emphasizes the report of the Secretary General of ICAO over the resolution of the ICAO Council. We feel that the report is essentially a technical ICAO document, which was, however, not given an unequivocal assessment when it was considered. The resolution of the ICAO Council expresses the political position of the States members of that organization.

In our view, today's draft resolution also falls short of the resolution of the ICAO Council in terms of the balance of its formulations. We do not feel that the Security Council should take it upon itself to make a legal qualification of the tragic events of 24 February, not taking duly into account the views of the specialized agency competent in these matters.

In other words, we regret that accuracy and thoroughness were sacrificed in the draft resolution to a desire to force a decision. Unfortunately, the repeated appeals of the Russian and other delegations to continue constructive work towards an agreed text that would fully reflect all aspects of this multifaceted problem went unheeded.

We are convinced that there was a real opportunity to arrive at a generally acceptable text — and hence a correct interpretation for future incidents of this kind — and our delegation tried up to the very last minute to work towards that end. It is not our fault if this did not succeed.

In view of these considerations, the Russian delegation cannot support the draft resolution in its present form and will abstain in the voting.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1996/596.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

China, Russian Federation

The President (*interpretation from French*): The result of the voting is as follows: 13 votes in favour, none against and 2 abstaining. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1067 (1996).

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of France.

The events of 24 February — the shooting down of two civil aircraft by the Cuban Air Force, leading to the deaths of four persons — prompted a strong emotional reaction expressed in the Security Council's presidential statement of 27 February.

Beyond the emotions, two imperatives arose: to establish the facts and to recall the rules, respect for which should guarantee that a tragedy of this kind will not reoccur.

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) has already helped to meet these goals. The report of the investigation undertaken by the Secretary General of that organization describes the chain of events that led to the incidents of 24 February. Two points have emerged with particular clarity. The first is that these events occurred in a context of tension caused by repeated violations of Cuban airspace in previous months. The second is that weapons were deliberately used against unarmed civil aircraft without prior recourse to procedures that would have made it possible to divert these planes and avoid the fatal outcome.

The resolution adopted by the ICAO Council recalls rules applicable to this case. These are those codified in the Protocol adding article 3 *bis* to the Convention on International Civil Aviation. This article lays down the basic principle of the non-use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight. It also formulates several principles aimed at protecting States against the effects of the use of civil aircraft for purposes inconsistent with the aims of the Convention. The ICAO Council was right to recall these rules and to appeal for the ratification of the Protocol adding article 3 *bis*.

The resolution adopted today by the Council, which my delegation supported, is completely consistent with the results of ICAO's work. It notes a fact that no one disputes: the shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February violated the principle of the non-use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight. It also clearly recalls the principle that every State has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory and the principle that each Contracting State shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the use of any civil aircraft registered in that State for any purpose inconsistent with the aims of the Chicago Convention. The French delegation, moreover, attaches great importance to the resolution's appeal to all States which have not yet done so to ratify the Protocol adding article 3 *bis* and to implement it pending its entry into force.

The resolution adopted by the Security Council thus makes an essential contribution to the strengthening and consolidation of international law, which we hope will prevent any repetition of events such as those we witnessed last February.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): I would like to thank the members of the Security Council for this overwhelming support and also for the condolences expressed for the deaths of the pilots. But I feel committed to making a brief statement of reply.

The representative of Cuba has offered us many words this afternoon. But, despite the many words we heard, we have heard nothing new. We have heard nothing to change the fact that the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) has concluded that Cuba shot down two planes over international waters. We have heard nothing to change the fact that the ICAO has concluded that these were civilian planes. If the representative of Cuba continues to doubt this fact, perhaps he should talk to the pilots of the Cuban MIGs who identified these planes as civilian aircraft before they blew them out of the sky. We heard nothing to change the fact that the ICAO has concluded that Cuba violated all norms of civil aviation by shooting first and asking questions later. And we have heard nothing to change the fact that the Security Council has now endorsed the conclusions of the ICAO report and thereby rejected Cuba's case completely.

But more important than all of that, I sat here and listened to the representative of Cuba for more than one and a half hours and, despite all the words I heard, I heard nothing to indicate regret by the Cuban Government for the four civilian men who were killed. I heard no offer of condolences to the families, and I heard no willingness by the Cuban Government to take responsibility for an act that this Council has condemned as a violation of international law.

Finally, I listened carefully to the representative of Cuba use the phrase, "Sentence first — verdict afterwards". I still do not understand the point he was making, since this Council asked the ICAO to investigate precisely and to render its final judgment after an objective examination of the events of 24 February 1996. But sadly, I must admit, "Sentence first — verdict afterwards" is precisely what happened. For it is certainly true that on 24 February, five months ago, without any inquiry, without any warning, and without regard to law and decency, the Cuban Government sentenced four of my countrymen to death over international waters. Five months have gone by and the verdict is in: this Council has declared Cuba guilty as charged — guilty of violating international law. It is high time for Cuba to accept the judgment.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Cuba has asked to speak, and I call on him now.

Mr. Alarcón de Quesada (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do not want to take up much of the Council's time, and it is not necessary. We did not need a Council meeting to do what the representative of the United States believes the Council has done. On 20 June, even before the report of the investigative team was issued, we heard exactly the same words from the White House. Until yesterday the Council had an opportunity to take a decision consistent with what it said in February. As one representative very recently recalled, nine members of the Council put forward ideas that would have been completely along the lines of the conclusions of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).

One delegation, long before the meeting of the Council and the meetings of ICAO, insisted on repeating its lies and distorting the truth without replying to specific questions: where are the witnesses? Where is the recording? Is it the one that was distributed in February, or the mutilated one given to the ICAO in May? Where is the truth, my dear friend? Why have you, the defenders of the truth, put so much time and effort into hiding it? And somebody expressed surprise that we recalled the brilliant work of Lewis Carroll.

The specialized agency of the United Nations, ICAO, dedicated four long meetings in two days of work to the consideration of the report, which was conducted by civil aviation specialists. They did not do what members of the Council, in a couple of hours, under pressure and manipulation, have been capable of doing. I think that the majority of members deserve a good rest.

The President (*interpretation from French*): There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.